Benjamin Bussey

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE LIFE

OF

Marcus Tullius Cicero.

Hunc igitur ſpectemus. Hoc propoſitum ſit nobis exemplum. Ille ſe profeciſſe ſciat, cui CICERO *valde placebit.*

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THE HISTORY OF The LIFE of *M. TULLIUS CICERO.*

SECT. IX.

CICERO was present at the death of Cæsar in the Senate; *where he had the pleasure*, he tells us, *to see the tyrant perish as he deserved* [o]. By this accident he was freed at once from all subjection to a superior, and all the uneasiness and indignity of managing a power, which every moment could oppress him. He was now without competition the first Citizen in *Rome*; the first in that credit and authority both with the Senate and People, which illustrious merit and services will necessarily give in a free City. The Conspirators considered him as such, and reckoned upon him as their sure friend: for they had no sooner finished their work, than *Brutus, lifting up his bloody dagger, called out upon him by name, to congratulate with him on* A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

[o] Quid mihi attulerit justo interitu Tyranni? Ad ista domini mutatio, præter lætitiam, quam oculis cepi, Att. 14. 14.

the recovery of their liberty [*p*]: and when they all ran out presently after into the Forum, with their daggers in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the City, they proclaimed at the same time *the name of Cicero*; in hopes to recommend the justice of their act, by the credit of his approbation [*q*.]

THIS gave *Antony* a pretence to charge him afterwards in public, with *being privy to the conspiracy, and the principal adviser of it* [*r*]: but it is certain, that he was not at all acquainted with it: for tho' he had the strictest friendship with the chief actors, and they the greatest confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity, rendered him wholly unfit to bear a part in an attempt of that nature; and to embark himself in an affair so desperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of their Leaders, were all either *too young* to be trusted, *or too obscure*, even to be known by him [*s*]. He could have been of little or no service to them in the execution of the act, yet of much greater in justifying it afterwards to the City, for having had no share in it, nor any personal interest, to make his authority suspected. These were the true reasons without doubt, why Brutus and Cassius did not impart the design to him: had it been from any other motive, as some writers have suggested,

[*p*] Cæsare interfecto—statim cruentum alte extollen M. Brutus pugionem, *Ciceronem* nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Philip. 2. 12.

[*q*] Dio: p. 249.

[*r*] Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum. [Phil. 2. 11.] Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuissem, molestus nobis non esset. Ep. fam. 12. 3. it. 2.

[*s*] Quam verisimile porro est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Phil. 2. 11.

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ſuggeſted, or had it admitted any interpretation injurious to his honour, he muſt have been often reproached with it by *Antony*, and his other adverſaries of thoſe times, who were ſo ſtudious to invent and propagate every calumny that could depreſs his credit. I cannot however intirely acquit him of being in ſome degree acceſſary to the death of Cæſar: for it is evident from ſeveral of his letters, that he had an expectation of ſuch an attempt, and from what quarter it would come; and not only expected, but wiſhed it: he propheſied very early, *that Cæſar's reign could not laſt ſix months, but muſt neceſſarily fall, either by violence, or of itſelf; and hoped to live to ſee it* [*t*]: he knew the diſaffection of the greateſt and beſt of the City; which they expreſſed with great freedom in their Letters, and with much more, we may imagine, in their private converſation: he knew the fierce and haughty ſpirit of Brutus and Caſſius, and their impatience of a Maſter; and cultivated a ſtrict Correſpondence with them both at this time, as if for the opportunity of exciting them to ſome act of vigor. On the news, that Atticus ſent him, *Of Cæſar's image being placed in the Temple of Quirinus*, adjoining to that of *the Goddeſs Salus*; *I had rather*, ſays he, *have him the Comrade of Romulus, than of the Goddeſs Safety* [*u*]: referring *to Romulus's fate*, of being killed in the Senate. In another Letter it ſeems to be intimated, that Atticus and he had been contriving, or talking at leaſt together, how Brutus might be ſpirited up to

[*t*] Jam intelliges id regnum vix ſemeſtre eſſe poſſe —nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus, nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iſte neceſſe eſt, aut per adverſarios, aut ipſe per ſe—id ſpero vivis nobis fore. Ad Att. x. 8.

[*u*] Eum σύνναον Quirino malo, quam Saluti. Ad Att. 12. 15.

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some attempt of that kind, by setting before him the fame and glory of his Ancestors: "Does "Brutus then tell us, says he, that Cæsar brings "with him glad tidings to honest men? where "will he find them? unless he hangs himself. "But how securely is he now intrenched on all "sides? What use then of your fine invention; "the picture of old Brutus and Ahala with "the verses under, which I saw in your Gal- "lery? Yet what after all can he do?" [x] One cannot help observing likewise, in his Pieces, addressed about this time to Brutus, how artfully he falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular unhappiness of Brutus himself, in being deprived by them of all the hopes and use of his great talents; putting him in mind at the same time of *his double descent* from Ancestors, who had acquired immortal glory *by delivering* Rome *from servitude*. Thus he concludes his treatise *on famous Orators*.

"WHEN

[x] Itane nunciat Brutus, illum ad bonos viros εὐαγγελια? sed ubi eos? nisi forte se suspendit? hic autem ut fultum est! ubi igitur φιλοτεχνημα illud tuum quod vidi in *Parthenone*, Ahalam & Brutum? sed quid faciat? ad Att. 13. 40.

Parthenone is supposed to denote some room or gallery in Brutus's, or more probably in Atticus's house, adorned with the Images or Portraits of the great men of *Rome*, under each of which, as Cornelius Nepos tells us, [in vit. Att. c. 18.] Atticus had severally described their principal acts and honours, in four or five verses of his own composing: where the contemplation of these Figures of old Brutus and Ahala, joined together in one picture, with the verses under, had given a handle perhaps to a conversation between Cicero and him, how Brutus might be incited by the example of those great Ancestors to dissolve the tyranny of Cæsar. It seems also very probable, that this very picture of Atticus's invention, as Cicero calls it, might give occasion to the thought and coinage of that silver medal or *denarius*, which is still extant, with the heads and names of those two old Patriots; Brutus on the one side, Ahala on the other. Vid. Thesaur. Morell. in Fam. Junia. Tab. 1. 1.

" WHEN I look upon you, Brutus, I am A. Urb. 709.
" grieved to see your youth running, as it Cic. 63.
" were, in full career through the midst of Coss.
" glory, stopp'd short by the wretched fate of M. ANTONI-
" your Country. This grief sits heavy upon US. P. COR-
" me, and on our common friend Atticus, the NELIUS DO-
" partner of my affection, and good opinion of LABELLA.
" you: we heartily wish you well; wish to see
" you reap the fruit of your virtue: and to
" live in a Republic, that may give you the
" opportunity, not only to revive, but to in-
" crease the honour and memory of the two no-
" ble families, from which you descend——for
" the Forum was wholly yours; yours all that
" course of glory: you, of all the young plea-
" ders, brought thither, not onely a tongue,
" ready formed by the exercise of speaking, but
" had enriched your Oratory by the furniture
" also of the severer arts; and by the help of
" the same arts had joined to a perfection of elo-
" quence the ornament of every virtue. We
" are doubly sorry therefore on your account,
" that you want the benefit of the Republic;
" the Republic of you: but though this odious
" ruin of the City extinguishes the use of your
" abilities, go on still, Brutus, to pursue your
" usual studies, *&c.*"

THESE passages seem to give a reasonable ground to believe, that Cicero, though a stranger to the particular councils of the Conspirators, had yet a general notion of their design, as well as some share in promoting it. In his reply to Antony's charge, he does not deny his expectation of it, freely owns his joy for it, and thanks him for giving him an honor, which he had not merited, of bearing a part in it; he calls it, " the most glorious act, which had ever been

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" done, not onely in that, but in any other " City: in which men were more forward to " claim a ſhare, which they had not, than to " diſſemble that which they had; that Brutus's " reaſon for calling out upon him, was to ſig- " nify, that he was then emulating his praiſes, " by an act, not unlike to what he had done: " that if to wiſh Cæſar's death was a crime, to " rejoice at it was the ſame; there being no " difference between the adviſer and the appro- " ver; yet excepting Antony and a few more, " who were fond of having a King, that there " was not a man in *Rome*, who did not deſire " to ſee the fact committed; that all honeſt " men, as far as it was in their power, concurred " in it; that ſome indeed wanted the counſil, " ſome the courage, ſome the opportunity, but " none the will to do it, *&c.* [*y*]"

THE news of this ſurpriſing fact raiſed a general conſternation through the City: ſo that the firſt care of the Conſpirators was to quiet the minds of the People, by proclaiming peace and liberty to all, and declaring, that no farther violence was intended to any. They marched out therefore in a body, with *a Cap as the enſign of liberty, carried before them on a Spear* [*z*]; and

[*y*] Ecquis eſt igitur, qui te excepto, & iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit, aut factum improbarit? omnes enim in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipſis fuit, Cæſarem occiderunt. Aliis conſilium, aliis animus, occaſio defuit; voluntas nemini, &c. Phil. 2. 12.

[*z*] A *Cap* was always given to *Slaves*, when they were made free; whence it became *the Emblem of liberty:* to expoſe it therefore on a Spear, was a public invitation to the people, to embrace the liberty that was offered to them by the deſtruction of their Tyrant. There was a Medal likewiſe ſtruck on this occaſion, with the ſame device, which is ſtill extant. The thought however was not new; for Satur-

and in a calm and orderly manner proceeded through the Forum; where, in the firſt heat of joy for the death of the Tyrant, ſeveral of the young Nobility, who had born no part in the conſpiracy, joined themſelves to the company with ſwords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners *in the act*; but they paid dear afterwards for that vanity, and without any ſhare of the glory, were involved in the ruin which it drew upon all the reſt. Brutus deſigned to have ſpoken to the Citizens from the *Roſtra*; but perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to ſpeeches, and being uncertain what way the popular humour might turn, and knowing that there were great numbers of Cæſar's *old ſoldiers in the City, who had been ſummoned from all parts to attend him to the* Parthian *war*, he thought proper, with his Accomplices, under the guard of Decimus's Gladiators, to take refuge in the Capitol [*a*]. Being here ſecured from any immediate violence, he ſummoned the people thither in the afternoon; and in a ſpeech to them, which he had prepared, juſtified his act, and explained the motives of it, and in a pathetic manner exhorted them to exert themſelves in the defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, againſt all the abettors of the late tyranny. Cicero preſently followed them into the Capitol, with the beſt and

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Saturninus, in his ſedition, when he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Capitol, exalted *a Cap alſo on the top of a Spear*, as a token of liberty to all the Slaves, who would join with him: and though Marius, in his ſixth Conſulſhip, deſtroyed him for that act, by a decree of the Senate, yet he himſelf uſed the ſame expedient afterwards to invite the Slaves to take arms with him againſt Sylla, who was marching with his army into the City to attack him. Val. Max. 8. 6.

[*a*] App. 2. p. 503. Dio. p. 250. Plut. in Cæſ. & Brut.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

and greateſt part of the Senate, to deliberate on the proper means of improving this hopeful beginning, and eſtabliſhing their liberty on a ſolid and laſting foundation.

ANTONY in the mean while, ſhocked by the hardineſs of the act, and apprehending ſome danger to his own life, *ſtripped himſelf of his conſular robes, and fled home in diſguiſe; where he began to fortify his houſe, and kept himſelf cloſe all that day* [*b*]; till perceiving the pacific conduct of the conſpirators, he recovered his ſpirits, and appeared again the next morning in public.

WHILE things were in this ſituation, L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the Prætors, who was nearly allied to Cæſar, made a ſpeech to the people in praiſe of the conſpirators; extolling their act as highly meritorious, and exhorting the multitude to invite them down from the Capitol, and reward them with the honors due to the deliverers of their country; then throwing off his *Prætorian robe*, he declared, that he would not wear it any longer, as being beſtowed upon him *by a Tyrant, and not by the laws.* But the next day, as he was going to the Senate, ſome of Cæſar's Veteran ſoldiers, having gathered a mob of the ſame party, attacked him in the ſtreets with vollies of ſtones, and drove him into a houſe, which they were going preſently to ſet on fire, with deſign to have burnt him in it, if Lepidus had not come to his reſcue with a body of regular troops [*c*].

LEPIDUS was at this time in the ſuburbs of *Rome*, at the head of an army, ready to depart for

[*b*] Quæ tua fuga? quæ formido præclaro illo die? quæ propter conſcientiam ſcelerum deſperatio vitæ; ſum ex illa fuga—clam te domum recepiſti. Phil. 2. 35. Vid. Dio. p. 259. App. 502, 503.

[*c*] Plut. in Brut. App. p. 504.

for the government of *Spain*, which had been assigned to him by Cæsar, with a part of *Gaul*. In the night therefore, after Cæsar's death, he filled the Forum with his troops, and finding himself superior to any man in power, began to think of *making himself master of the City, and taking immediate revenge on the Conspirators:* but being a weak and vain man, Antony easily diverted him from that design, and managed him to his own views: "He represented the hazard "and difficulty of the attempt, while the Senate, "the City, and all *Italy* were against them; "that the only way to effect what they wished, "was to dissemble their real purpose; to recom- "mend pacific counsils, and lull their adversa- "ries asleep, till they had provided a strength "sufficient to oppress them; and that, as soon "as things were ripe, he would join with him "very heartily in avenging Cæsar's death."— With these remonstrances he pacified him; and to render the union the firmer, and to humor his vanity at the same time, *gave his Daughter in marriage to Lepidus's Son, and assisted him to seize the High Priesthood*, vacant by Cæsar's death, without any regard to the ordinary forms of election [*d*]. Having thus gained Lepidus into his measures, he made use of his authority and his forces, to harrass and terrify the opposite party, till he had driven the Conspirators out of the City: and when he had served his purposes with him at home, contrived to send him to his government, to keep the Provinces and the Commanders abroad in proper respect to them; and that, by sitting down with his army in the nearest part of *Gaul*, he might be ready for any event, which should require his help in *Italy*.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THE

[*d*] Dio. p. 249, 250, 257, 269.

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THE Conſpirators in the mean while had formed no ſcheme, *beyond the Death of* Cæſar; but ſeemed to be as much ſurprized and amazed at what they had done, as the reſt of the City: they truſted intirely to the integrity of their cauſe; fancying, that it would be ſufficient of itſelf to effect all that they expected from it, and draw an univerſal concurrence to the defence of their common liberty; and taking it for granted, that Cæſar's fate, in the height of all his greatneſs, would deter any of his Partiſans from aiming at the ſame power: they placed withal a great confidence in Cicero's authority, of which they aſſured themſelves as their own, and were not diſappointed; for from this moment he reſolved at all adventures to ſupport the credit of the men, and their act, as the only means left of recovering the Republic. He knew, that the people were all on their ſide; and, as long as force was removed, that they were maſters of the City: his advice therefore was, to uſe their preſent advantage, and in the conſternation of Cæſar's party, and the zeal and union of their own, *that* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *as Prætors, ſhould call the Senate into the Capitol, and procede to ſome vigorous decrees, for the ſecurity of the public tranquillity* [e]. But Brutus was for marching calmly, and with all due reſpect to the authority of the Conſul; and having conceived hopes of Antony, propoſed *the ſending a deputation to him, to exhort him to meaſures of peace:* Cicero remonſtrated againſt it; nor would be prevailed with to bear a part in it: he told them plainly, "that

[e] Meminiſti me clamare, illo ipſo primo Capitolino die, Senatum in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera effici potuerunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis, etiam ſat bonis, fractis latronibus? Ad Att. 14. 10.

" that there could be no safe treaty with him ; A. Urb. 709.
" that as long as he was afraid of them, he Cic. 63.
" would promise every thing ; but when his Coss.
" fears were over, would be like himself, and M. ANTONI-
" perform nothing : so that while the other con- US. P. COR-
" sular Senators were going forwards and back- NELIUS DO-
" wards in this office of mediation, he stuck to LABELLA.
" his point, and staid with the rest in the Ca-
" pitol, and did not see Antony for the two
" first days [*f*]."

THE event confirmed what Cicero foretold : Antony had no thoughts of peace or of any good to the republic : his sole view was, to seize the government to himself, as soon as he should be in condition to do it ; and then, on pretence of revenging Cæsar's death, to destroy all those, who were likely to oppose him : as his business therefore was, to gain time by dissembling and deceiving the Republican Party into a good opinion of him ; so all his answers were mild and moderate ; professing a sincere inclination to peace, and no other desire, than to see the Republic settled again on it's old basis. Two days passed in mutual assurances from both sides, of their disposition to concord and amity ; and Antony summoned the Senate on the third, to adjust the conditions of it, and confirm them by some solemn Act. Here Cicero, as the best foundation of a lasting quiet, moved the assembly in the first place, *after the example of* Athens, *to decree a general amnesty, or act of oblivion, for all that was passed* ; to which they unanimously agreed.

[*f*] Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam Rempub. te adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum, simul ac timere desiisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum cæteri Consulares irent, redirent, in sententia manси : neque te illo die, neque postero vidi. Phil. 2. 35.

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greed. Antony seemed to be all goodness; talked of nothing, but healing measures; and, for a proof of his sincerity, moved, *that the Conspirators should be invited, to take Part in their deliberations, and sent his Son as an Hostage for their safety:* upon which they all came down from the Capitol; and Brutus supped with Lepidus; Cassius with Antony; and the day ended to the universal joy of the city, who imagined, that their liberty was now crowned with certain peace [g].

THERE were several things however very artfully proposed and carried by Antony, on the pretence of public concord, of which he afterwards made a most pernicious use; particularly, a decree for *the confirmation of all* Cæsar's *acts*; this motion was suspected by many, who stuck upon it for some time, and called upon Antony to explain it, and specify how far it was to extend: he assured them, "that no other acts were "meant, than what were known to every bo- "dy; and entered publicly on Cæsar's register: "they asked, if any Persons were to be restored "from exile; he said, one only and no more: "whether any immunities were granted to Ci- "ties or countries: he answered, none; and "consented, that it should pass with a restric- "tion,

[g] In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis. Athenienſiumque renovavi vetus exemplum: græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis erat usa civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. Præclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas pax denique per eum & per liberos ejus cum præstantissimis civibus confirmata est—Phil. 1. 1.

Quæ fuit oratio de concordia?—tuus parvulus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit. Quo Senatus die lætior? quo populus Romanus?—tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamur, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax sequebatur. Ib. 13. Vid. Plutar. in Brut.

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" tion, propoſed by Ser. Sulpicius; that no " grant, which was to take place after the Ides " of *March*, ſhould be ratified [*b*]:" this was generally thought ſo reaſonable, and Antony's ſeeming candor had made ſuch an impreſſion, that thoſe who ſaw the miſchief of it, durſt not venture to oppoſe it: eſpecially as there was a precedent for it in the caſe of Sylla; and as it was ſuppoſed to relate chiefly to the veteran ſoldiers, whom it was not poſſible to oblige, or keep in good humor, without confirming the privileges and poſſeſſions, which Cæſar had granted to them. But Brutus and his friends had private Reaſons for entertaining a better opinion of Antony, than his outward conduct would juſtify: Cæſar had uſed him roughly on ſeveral occaſions [*i*]; and they knew his reſentment of it; *and that he had been engaged with* Trebonius, *on* Cæſar's *laſt return from* Spain, *in a deſign againſt his life:* and tho' he did not perform that engagement; yet they thought it an obligation, as well as a proof of his continuing in the ſame mind, *that he had not diſcovered it:* which was the reaſon *of their ſparing him, when* Cæſar *was killed, and of* Trebonius's *taking him aſide*, on pretence of buſineſs, leſt his behaviour on that occaſion might provoke them to kill him too [*k*].

But,

[*b*] Summa conſtantia ad ea, quæ quæſita erant, reſpondebat: nihil tum, niſi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Cæſaris commentariis reperiebatur: num qui exules reſtitui? unum aiebat, præterea neminem. Num immunitates datæ? nullæ, reſpondebat. Aſſentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio voluit, ne qua tabula poſt Idus Martias ullius decreti Cæſaris aut beneficii figeretur. Phil. 1. 1.

[*i*] Phil. 2. 29.

[*k*] Quanquam ſi interfici Cæſarem voluiſſe crimen eſt, vide quæſo, Antoni, quid tibi futurum ſit, quem & Narbone hoc conſilium cum C.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

BUT, as Cicero often laments, they had already ruined their cause, by giving Antony leisure to recollect himself, and gather troops about him, by which he forced upon them several other decrees against their will; one of them in favour of *the veteran soldiers*, whom he had drawn up for that purpose in arms about the Senate [*l*]; and another still worse, for the allowance *of a public funeral to Cæsar*; *which Atticus had been remonstrating against both to Cicero and Brutus, as pernicious to the peace of the City:* but it was too late to prevent it; Antony was resolved upon it; and had provided all things for it, as the best opportunity of inflaming the soldiers and the populace, and raising some commotions to the disadvantage of the Republican cause; in which he succeeded so well, that Brutus and Cassius had no small difficulty *to defend their lives and houses from the violence of his mob* [*m*]. In this tumult, Helvius Cinna, one of the Tribunes, and a particular friend of Cæsar, was torn in pieces by the rabble; being mistaken unluckily for the Prætor of that name, who, as it is said above, *had extolled the act of killing Cæsar in a speech from the Rostra:* this so alarmed all those, who had any similitude of name with any of the Conspirators, that Caius Casca, another Senator, thought fit *by a public advertisement, to signify the distinction of his person and principles*

C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, & ob ejus consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus revocari. Ib. 14.

[*l*] Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum præsidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt? ——— Ad Att. 14. 14.

[*m*] Meministine te clamare, causam periisse, si funere elatus esset? at ille etiam in foro combustus, laudatusque miserabiliter; servique & egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi. Ad Att. 14. 10, 14. Plutar. in Brut.

principles from Publius Caſca, who gave the firſt blow to Cæſar [*n*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

WE are not to imagine however, as it is commonly believed, that theſe violences were owing to the general indignation of the Citizens, againſt the murtherers of Cæſar; excited either by the ſpectacle of his body, or the eloquence of Antony, who made the funeral oration: for it is certain, that Cæſar, thro' his whole reign, could never draw from the people any public ſignification of their favour; but, on the contrary, was conſtantly mortified, by the perpetual demonſtrations of their hatred and diſaffection to him. The caſe was the ſame after his death: the memory of his tyranny was odious, and Brutus and Caſſius the real favourites of the City: as appeared on all occaſions, where-ever their free and genuin ſenſe could be declared, in *the public Shews and Theatres* [*o*]; which Cicero frequently appeals to, as a proper encouragement to all honeſt men, to act with ſpirit and vigor, in the defence of their common liberty. What happened therefore at the funeral was the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary rabble; the greateſt part ſlaves and ſtrangers, liſted and prepared for violence, againſt

[*n*] C. Helvius Cinna Trib. pl. ex funere C. Cæſaris domum ſuam petens, populi manibus diſcerptus eſt, pro Cornelio Cinna, in quem ſævire ſe exiſtimabat; iratus ei, quod cum affinis eſſet Cæſaris, adverſus eum nefarie raptum, impiam pro Roſtris orationem habuiſſet. —Val. Max. 9. 9. vid. Dio. p. 267, 268. it. Plut. in Cæſ. & Brut.

[*o*] Omnes enim jam cives de Reipub. ſalute una & mente & voce conſentiunt. Phil. 1. 9.

Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi verſus? quid Pompeii ſtatuæ plauſus infinitus? quid iis Tribunis plebis, qui vobis adverſantur? parumne hæc ſignificant, incredibiliter conſentientem populi Romani voluntatem? &c. ib. 15. Ad Att. 14. 2.

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a party unarmed, and purſuing pacific counſils, and placing all their truſt and ſecurity in the juſtice of their cauſe. Cicero calls it *a Conſpiracy of Cæſar's freedmen* [*p*], who were the chief managers of the tumult: in which the *Jews* ſeem to have born a conſiderable part; who, out of hatred to Pompey, for his affront to their City and Temple, were zealouſly attached to Cæſar, and, above all the other Foreigners in *Rome*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by the expreſſions of their grief for his death; *ſo as to ſpend whole nights at his monument, in a kind of religious devotion to his memory* [*q*].

THIS firſt taſt of Antony's perfidy was a clear warning to the Conſpirators, what little reaſon they had to depend upon him; or to expect any ſafety in the City, where he had the ſoverein command, without *a guard for their defence*; which, *though* D. Brutus *demanded for them*, they could not obtain: whilſt Antony, to alarm them ſtill the more, took care to let them know, *that the ſoldiers and the populace were ſo enraged that he did not think it poſſible for any of them to be ſafe* [*r*]. They all therefore quitted *Rome*: Trebonius ſtole away privately for *Aſia*, to take poſſeſſion

[*p*] Nam iſta quidem libertorum Cæſaris conjuratio facile opprimeretur, ſi recte ſaperet Antonius. Ad Att. 14. 5.

[*q*] In ſummo publico luctu exterarum gentium, multitudo circulatim, ſuo, quæque more, lamentata eſt, præcipueque Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuis buſtum frequentarunt. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 84.

[*r*] Heri apud me Hirtius fuit; qua mente Antonius eſſet, demonſtravit, peſſima ſcilicet & infideliſſima. Nam ſe neque mihi provinciam dare poſſe aiebat, neque arbitrari, tuto in urbe eſſe quemquam noſtrum, adeo eſſe militum concitatos animos & plebis. Quorum utrumque eſſe falſum puto vos animadvertere — placitum eſt mihi poſtulare, ut liceret nobis eſſe Romæ publico præſidio: quod illos nobis conceſſuros non puto— Ep. fam. xi. 1.

poſſeſſion of that province, which had before been aſſigned to him; being afraid of being prevented by the intrigues of Antony: D. Brutus, for the ſame reaſon, poſſeſſed himſelf of *the Ciſalpine or Italic Gaul*, which had been conferred upon him likewiſe by Cæſar, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf there againſt all events, and by his neighbourhood to *Rome*, to encourage and protect all the friends of liberty: M. Brutus, accompanied by Caſſius, retired to one of his villa's near *Lanuvium*, to deliberate about their future conduct, and to take ſuch meaſures as the accidents of the times and the motions of their enemies ſhould make neceſſary. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

BUT as ſoon as the Conſpirators were gone, Antony reſumed his Maſk, and as if the late violences had been accidental onely, and the ſudden tranſport of a vile mob, profeſſed the ſame moderation as before, and affected to ſpeak with the greateſt reſpect of Brutus and Caſſius; and by ſeveral ſeaſonable acts, propoſed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing ſo much at heart, as the public concord: among other decrees he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himſelf, *to aboliſh for ever the name and office of Dictator:* this ſeemed to be a ſure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an univerſal ſatisfaction to the Senate; who paſſed it, as it were, by acclamation, without putting it even to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the houſe for it to Antony, who, as Cicero afterwards told him, *had fixed an indelible infamy by it on Cæſar, in declaring to the world, that for the odium of his government, ſuch a decree was become both neceſſary and popular* [s].

[s] Dictaturam, quæ vim jam regiæ poteſtatis obſederat, funditùs e Repub. ſuſtulit. De qua ne ſententias quidem

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CICERO also left *Rome* soon after Brutus and Cassius [*t*], not a little mortified to see things take so wrong a turn, by the indolence of their friends; which gave him frequent occasion to say, *that the Ides of* March *had produced nothing, which pleased him, but the fact of the day, which was executed indeed with manly vigor, but supported by childish counsils* [*u*]. As he passed thro' the country, he found nothing but mirth and rejoicing in all the great Towns, on the account of Cæsar's death: "it is impossible to express, "says he, what joy there is every where: how "all people flock about me: how greedy they "are to hear an account of it from me: yet "what strange politics do we pursue? What a "solecism do we commit? To be afraid of "those, whom we have subdued; to defend "his acts, for whose death we rejoice; to suffer "Tyranny to live, when the Tyrant is killed; "and the Republic to be lost, when our liberty "is recovered [*x*]."

ATTICUS

quidem diximus —— eique amplissimis verbis per S. C. gratias egimus ——— maximum autem illud, quod Dictaturæ nomen sustulisti: hæc inusta est a te——mortuo Cæsari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam, &c. Phil. 1. 1, 13.

[*t*] Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem, nec te in ea, nec Cassium tuto esse posse, eamque armis oppressam ab Antonio, mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi. Ad Brut. 15.

[*u*] Sed tamen adhuc me nihil delectat præter Idus martias. [Ad Att. 14. 6, 21.] Itaque stulta jam Iduum martiarum est consolatio. Animis enim usi sumus virilibus; consiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. Ib. 15. 4.

[*x*] Dici enim non potest quantopere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant verba mea ea de re—sic enim πεπολιτεύμεθα, ut victos metueremus——nihil enim tam σόλοικον, quam τυραννοκτονους in cœlo esse, Tyranni facta defendi—Ad Att. 14. 6.

O Dii boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit. Ejus interfecti morte lætamur, cujus facta defendimus—ib. 9.

ATTICUS sent him word of some remarkable applause, which was given *to the famed Comedian, Publius*, for what he had said upon the stage, in favour of the public liberty; and that L. Cassius, *the Brother of the Conspirator, then one of the Tribuns, was received with infinite acclamations upon his entrance into the Theater* [y]: which convinced him only the more of the mistake of their friends in sitting still, and trusting to the merit of their cause, while their enemies were using all arts to destroy them. This general inclination, which declared itself so freely on the side of liberty, obliged Antony to act with caution, and as far as possible, to persuade the City, that he was on the same side too: for which end he did another thing at this time both prudent and popular, in putting to death the *Impostor Marius*, who was now returned to *Rome*, to revenge, as he gave out, the death of his kinsman Cæsar: where signalizing himself at the head of the mob, he was the chief Incendiary at the Funeral, and the subsequent riots, and threatned nothing less *than destruction to the whole Senate:* but Antony, having served his main purpose with him, of driving Brutus and the rest out of the City, ordered him *to be seized and strangled, and his body to be dragged through the Streets* [z]: which gave him fresh credit with the Republicans; so that Brutus, together with Cassius and other friends, had a *personal conference* with him about this time, which passed to mutual satisfaction [a].

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[y] Ex priore Theatrum, Publiumque cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis. Plausus vero, L. Cassio datus facetus mihi quidem visus est. Ad Att. 14. 2.

Infinito fratris tui plausu dirpitumur. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

[z] Uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui C. Marii nomen invaserat. Phil. 1. 2.

[a] Antonii colloquium cum nostris Heroibus pro re nata non incommodum. Ad Att. 14. 6.

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By theſe arts Antony hoped to amuſe the Conſpirators, and induce them to lay aſide all vigorous councils; eſpecially, what he moſt apprehended, that of leaving *Italy*, and ſeizing ſome provinces abroad, furniſhed with troops and money; which might put them into a condition to act offenſively: with the ſame view he wrote an artful Letter to Cicero, to deſire his conſent to the reſtoration of S. Clodius, the chief agent of P. Clodius, who had been ſeveral years in baniſhment, for outrages committed in the City; chiefly againſt Cicero himſelf, on whoſe account he was condemned. Antony, by his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius, became the protector of all that family, and the Tutor of young Publius, her ſon; which gave him a decent pretence of intereſting himſelf in this affair. He aſſures Cicero, "that he had "procured a pardon for S. Clodius from Cæ- "ſar; but did not intend to have made uſe of "it, till he had obtained his conſent; and tho' "he thought himſelf now obliged to ſupport "all Cæſar's acts; yet he would not inſiſt on "this againſt his leave——that it would be "an obligation to young Publius, a youth of "the greateſt hopes, to let him ſee, that Cicero "did not extend his revenge to his Father's "Friends —— permit me, ſays he, to inſtill "theſe ſentiments into the boy; and to per- "ſuade his tender mind, that quarrels are not "to be perpetuated in families: and tho' your "condition, I know, is ſuperior to all danger; "yet you will chuſe, I fancy, to enjoy a quiet "and honorable, rather than a turbulent old "age—laſtly, I have a ſort of right to aſk this "favour of you; ſince I never refuſed any thing "to you: if I do not however prevail with "you,

" you, I will not grant it to Clodius; that you " may see how great your authority is with me: " shew yourself the more placable on that ac- " count [*b*]."

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CICERO never hesitated about giving his consent, to what Antony *could and would have done without it:* " the thing itself, he knew, was " scandalous; and the pardon said to be grant- " ed by Cæsar, a forgery; and that Cæsar " would never have done it, or suffered it to be " done; and so many forgeries of that kind be- " gan to be published every day from Cæsar's " books, that he was almost tempted, he says, " to wish for Cæsar again [*c*]." He answered him however with great civility; and in a strain of complaisance, which corresponded but little with his real opinion of the Man: but Antony's public behaviour had merited some compliments: and under the present state of his power, and the uncertain condition of their own party, Cicero resolved to observe *all the forms of an old acquaintance with him*; till by some *overt act against the public interest, he should be forced to consider him as an enemy* [*d*.]

[*b*] Ad Att. 14. after Letter the 13th.

[*c*] Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione S. Clodii: quam honorifice quod ad me attinet, ex ipsius litteris cognoscès—quam dissolute, quam turpitur, quamque ita pernicioſe, ut nonnunquam etiam Cæsar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis: quæ enim Cæsar nunquam neque fecisset, neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis ejus commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facillimum me præbui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit in animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. Ad Att. 14. 13.

[*d*] Ego tamen Antonii inveteratam sine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo. Ep. fam. 16. 23.

Cui quidem ego semper amicus fui, antequam illum intellixi non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum Repub. bellum gerere. Ib. xi. 5.

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ANTONY made him but a cold reply; having heard perhaps, in the mean time, of ſomething which did not pleaſe him in his conduct. He told him only, *that his eaſineſs and clemency were agreeable to him, and might hereafter be a great pleaſure to himſelf* [e].

CLEOPATRA, *the Queen of* Egypt, *was in* Rome, *when Cæſar was killed*; but being terrified by that accident, and the ſubſequent diſorders of the City, ſhe ran away preſently with great precipitation. Her authority and credit with Cæſar, in whoſe houſe ſhe was lodged, made her inſolence intolerable to the *Romans*; whom ſhe ſeems to have treated on the ſame foot with her own *Egyptians*; as the ſubjects of abſolute power, and the ſlaves of a maſter, whom ſhe commanded. *Cicero had a conference with her in Cæſar's gardens; where the haughtineſs of her behaviour gave him no ſmall offence.* Knowing his taſt and character, ſhe made him the promiſe of ſome preſent, very agreeable, but diſobliged him the more by not performing it: he does not tell us what it was; but from the hints which he drops, it ſeems to have been *ſtatues or curioſities from* Egypt, *for the ornament of his Library*; a ſort of furniture, which he was peculiarly fond of. But her pride being mortified by Cæſar's fate, ſhe was now forced to apply to him by her Miniſters for his aſſiſtance in a particular ſuit, that ſhe was recommending to the Senate, in which he refuſed to be concerned. The affair ſeems to have related *to her Infant Son*, whom ſhe pretended to be Cæſar's, and called by his name; and was labouring to get him

[e] Antonius ad me tantum de Clodio reſcripſit, meam lenitatem & clementiam & ſibi eſſe gratam, & mihi magnæ voluptati fore. Ad Att. 14. 19.

him *acknowledged as ſuch at* Rome, *and declared the Heir of her Kingdom*; as he was the year following, both by *Antony and Octavius*; though Cæſar's friends were generally ſcandalized at it, and Oppius thought it worth while to write a book, to prove, *that the child could not be Cæſar's* [*f*]. Cleopatra had been waiting to accompany Cæſar into the Eaſt, in order to preſerve her influence over him, which was very great: for after his death, Helvius Cinna, one of the Tribuns, owned, *that he had a law ready prepared and delivered to him by Cæſar, with orders to publiſh it, as ſoon as he was gone, for granting to him the liberty of taking what number of wives, and of what condition he thought fit, for the ſake of propagating children* [*g*]. This was contrived probably to ſave Cleopatra's honor, and to legitimate his iſſue by her; ſince polygamy, and the marriage of a ſtranger, were prohibited by the laws of *Rome*.

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CICERO touches theſe particulars in ſeveral places, tho' darkly and abruptly, according to the ſtile of his Letters to Atticus. "The flight "of the Queen, ſays he, gives me no pain. I "ſhould be glad to hear, what farther news "there is of her and her young Cæſar. I hate "the Queen: her Agent, Ammonius, the wit-"neſs and ſponſor of her promiſes to me, knows "that I have reaſon: they were things only "proper for a man of letters, and ſuitable to "my

[*f*] Quorum C. Oppius, quaſi plane defenſione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, non eſſe Cæſaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 52. vid. Dio. p. 227, 345.

[*g*] Helvius Cinna—confeſſus eſt, habuiſſe ſe ſcriptam paratamque legem, quam Cæſar ferre juſſiſſet cum ipſe abeſſet, ut uxores liberorum quærandorum cauſa, quas & quot ducere vellet, liceret. Suet. ib. Dio. 243.

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" my character; ſo that I ſhould not ſcruple " to proclaim them from the Roſtra. Her " other Agent, Sara, is not onely a raſcal, but " has been rude to me. I never ſaw him at my " Houſe but once; and when I aſked him ci- " villy, what commands he had for me, he ſaid, " that he came to look for Atticus. As to the " pride of the Queen, when I ſaw her in the " Gardens, I can never think of it without re- " ſentment: I will have nothing therefore to " do with them: they take me to have neither " ſpirit, nor even feeling left [*b*]."

ANTONY having put his affairs into the beſt train that he could, and appointed *the firſt of* June for a meeting of the Senate, in order to deliberate on the ſtate of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progreſs thro' *Italy*, for the ſake of viſiting the quarters of the veteran ſoldiers, and engaging them to his ſervice, by all ſorts of bribes and promiſes. He left the government of the City to Dolabella, whom Cæſar, upon his intended expedition to *Parthia*, had deſigned and nominated to the Conſulſhip: and though Antony had proteſted againſt that deſignation, and reſolved to obſtruct its effect, yet after Cæſar's death, when Dolabella,

[*b*] Reginæ fuga mihi non moleſta. [Ad Att. 14. 8.] de Regina velim, atque etiam de Cæſare illo. [ib. 20.] Reginam odi. Me jure facere ſcit ſponſor promiſſorum ejus Ammonius; quæ quidem erant φιλόλογα, & dignitatis meæ, ut vel in concione dicere auderem. Saram autem, præterquam quod nefarium hominem cognovi, præterea in me contumacem. Semel eum omnino domi meæ vidi. Cum φιλοφρόνως ex eo quærerem, quid opus eſſet, Atticum ſe dixit quærere. Superbiam autem ipſius Reginæ, cum eſſet trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare ſine magno dolore non poſſum. Nihil igitur cum iſtis: nec tam animum me, quam vix ſtomachum habere arbitrantur. Ib. 15. 15.

Dolabella, by the advantage of the general confuſion, *ſeized the enſigns of the office, and aſſumed the habit and character of the conſul, Antony quietly received, aud acknowledged him at ſuch at the next meeting of the Senate* [*i*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

CICERO had always kept up a fair correſpondence with his ſon-in-law, tho' he had long known him to be void of all virtue and good principles: but he had now greater reaſon than ever for inſinuating himſelf, as far as he was able, into his confidence; in order to engage him, if poſſible, to the intereſts of the Republic, and uſe him as a check upon the deſigns of his collegue Antony; in which he had the greater proſpect of ſucceſs, on the account of their declared enmity to each other. Dolabella greatly confirmed theſe hopes; and as ſoon as Antony had left the City, made all honeſt men think themſelves ſure of him, by exerting a moſt ſevere, as well as ſeaſonable act of diſcipline, upon the diſturbers of the public tranquillity. For the mob, headed by *the Impoſtor Marius, and the freedmen of Cæſar, had erected an altar in the Forum, on the ſpot were Cæſar's body was burnt; with a Pillar of* Numidian *Marble, twenty feet high, inſcribed* TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. Here they performed *daily ſacrifices and divine rites*; and the humour of worſhipping at this new altar began to ſpread itſelf ſo faſt among the meaner ſort, and the ſlaves, *as to endanger the peace and ſafety of the City:* for the multitudes which flocked to the place, fired with a kind of enthuſiaſtic rage, ran furious about the ſtreets committing all ſorts of outrage and violence againſt

[*i*] Tuum Collegam, depoſitis inimicitiis, oblitus auſpicia, te ipſo Augure nunciante, illo primo die Collegam tibi eſſe voluiſti — Phil. 1. 13.

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againſt the ſuppoſed friends of liberty. But Dolabella put an end to the evil at once, *by demoliſhing the Pillar and the Altar, and ſeizing the authors of the diſorders; and cauſing ſuch of them, as were free, to be thrown down the* Tarpeian *Rock, and the ſlaves to be crucified.* This gave an univerſal joy to the City: the whole body of the people *attended the Conſul to his houſe; and in the Theaters gave him the uſual teſtimony of their thanks,* by the loudeſt acclamations [*k*].

CICERO was infinitely pleaſed with this act, and enjoyed ſome ſhare of the praiſe, ſince it was generally imputed to the influence of his councils: in a Letter upon it to Atticus; "O "my admirable Dolabella! ſays he, I now call "him mine; for, believe me, I had ſome doubt "of him before: the fact affords matter of great "ſpeculation: *to throw them down the Rock; to "crucify; demoliſh the Pillar; pave the area;* "in ſhort, it is heroic. He has extinguiſhed "all appearance of that regret for Cæſar, which "was ſpreading every day ſo faſt, that I began "to apprehend ſome danger to our Tyrant-"killers: but I now agree with you, and con-"ceive better hopes, *&c.* [*l*]" Again; "O the "brave

[*k*] Plebs—poſtea ſolidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in Foro ſtatuit, ſcriptiſque Parenti Patriæ, apud eandem longo tempore ſacrificare, vota ſuſcipere, controverſias quaſdam interpoſito per Cæſarem jurejurando, diſtrahere perſeveravit. Suet. J. Cæſ. 85.

Manabat enim illud malum urbanum, & ita corroborabatur quotidie, ut ego quidem & urbi & otio diffiderem urbano. Ep. fam. 12. 1.

Nam cum ſerperet in urbe infinitum malum—& quotidie magis magiſque perditi homines, cum ſui ſimilibus ſervis, tectis & templis urbis minarenter; talis animadverſio fuit Dolabellæ, cum in audaces ſceleratoſque ſervos, tum in imperos & nefarios cives, taliſque everſio illius execratæ columnæ, &c. Phil. 1. 2.—recordare quæſo, Dolabella, concenſum illum theatri—vid. ib. 12.

[*l*] Ad Att. 14. 15.

" brave act of Dolabella, what a proſpect does A. Urb. 709.
" it give us? I never ceaſe praiſing and ex- Cic. 63.
" horting him—our Brutus, I dare ſay, might Coſſ.
" now walk ſafely through the Forum, with a M. ANTONI-
" crown of gold upon his head: for who dares us. P. COR-
" moleſt him, when *the rock or the croſs* is to NELIUS DO-
" be their fate? and when the very loweſt of LABELLA.
" the people give ſuch proofs of their applauſe
" and approbation [*m*]?" He wrote at the ſame time from *Baiæ* the following Letter to Dolabella himſelf.

CICERO to DOLABELLA Conſul.

" THOUGH I was content, my Dolabella,
" with your glory, and reaped a ſufficiency of
" pleaſure from it; yet I cannot but own, that
" it gives me an inexpreſſible joy, to find the
" world aſcribing to me alſo ſome ſhare in your
" praiſes. I have met with no body here, tho'
" I ſee ſo much company every day (for there
" are many worthy men now at this place for
" the ſake of their health, and many of my ac-
" quaintance from the great towns) who, after
" extolling you to the ſkies, does not give
" thanks preſently to me; not doubting, as
" they all ſay, but it is by my precepts and ad-
" vice, that you now ſhew yourſelf to be this
" admirable Citizen, and ſingular Conſul: and
" though I could aſſure them with great truth,
" that what you are doing flows wholly from
" yourſelf and your own judgment, and that
" you

[*m*] O Dolabellæ noſtri ἀρίστειαν! quanta eſt ἀναθεώρησις? equidem laudare eum & hortari non deſiſto —mihi quidem videtur Brutus noſter jam vel coronam auream per forum ferre poſſe; quis enim audeat violare, propoſita cruce aut ſaxo? præſertim tantis plauſibus, tanta approbatione infimorum? ib. 16.

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" you want not the advice of any one; yet I
" neither wholly aſſent, leſt I ſhould derogate
" from your merit, by making it ſeem to
" procede from my counſil; nor do I ſtrongly
" deny it, being myſelf perhaps more greedy of
" glory, than I ought to be. But that can ne-
" ver be a diminution to you, which was an
" honor even to Agamemnon, the King of
" Kings, to have a Neſtor for his counſellor;
" while it will be glorious to me, to ſee a young
" Conſul, the ſcholar, as it were, of my diſci-
" pline, floriſhing in the midſt of applauſe.
" L. Cæſar, when I viſited him lately ſick at
" *Naples*, though oppreſſed with pain in every
" part of his body, yet before he had even ſa-
" luted me, could not forbear crying out, O
" my Cicero! I congratulate with you on ac-
" count of the authority, which you have with
" Dolabella; for if I had the ſame credit with
" my Siſter's Son, Antony, we ſhould all now
" be ſafe: but as to your Dolabella, I both
" congratulate with him, and thank him; ſince
" from the time of your Conſulſhip, he is the
" onely one, whom we can truly call a Conſul:
" he then enlarged upon your act, and the man-
" ner of it; and declared, that nothing was
" ever greater, nothing nobler, nothing more
" ſalutary to the ſtate; and this indeed is the
" common voice of all. Allow me therefore,
" I beg of you, to take ſome ſhare, tho' it be
" a falſe one, in the poſſeſſion of another man's
" glory; and admit me in ſome degree into a
" partnerſhip of your praiſes. But to be ſerious,
" my Dolabella, for hitherto I have been jo-
" king, I would ſooner tranſfer all the credit
" that I have to you, if I really have any, than
" rob you of any part of yours: for as I have

" always

" always had that ſincere affection for you, to
" which you have been no ſtranger ; ſo now I
" am ſo charmed by your late conduct, that no
" love was ever more ardent. For, believe
" me, there is nothing after all more engaging,
" nothing more beautiful, nothing more love-
" ly than virtue. I have ever loved M. Brutus,
" you know, for his incomparable parts, ſweet
" diſpoſition, ſingular probity, and firmneſs of
" mind: yet on the Ides of *March*, ſuch an ac-
" ceſſion was made to my love, that I was ſur-
" prized to find any room for increaſe in that,
" which I had long ago taken to be full and
" perfect. Who could have thought it poſſi-
" ble, that any addition could be made to my
" love of you ? Yet ſo much has been added,
" that I ſeem but now at laſt to love, before
" to have onely eſteemed you. What is it
" therefore that I muſt now exhort you to ? Is
" it to purſue the path of dignity and glory?
" And as thoſe do, who uſe to exhort, ſhall I
" propoſe to you the examples of eminent men?
" I can think of none more eminent than your
" ſelf. You muſt imitate therefore yourſelf;
" contend with yourſelf; for after ſuch great
" things done, it would be a diſgrace to you
" not to be like yourſelf. Since this then is the
" caſe, there is no occaſion to exhort, but to
" congratulate with you : for that has happened
" to you, which ſcarce ever happened to any
" man, that by the utmoſt ſeverity of puniſh-
" ing, inſtead of acquiring odium, you are be-
" come popular ; and not onely with the better
" ſort, but the very meaneſt of the City. If
" this was owing to fortune, I ſhould congra-
" tulate your felicity ; but it was owing to the
" greatneſs of your courage, as well as of your
" parts

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" parts and wisdom. For I have read your " speech to the people: nothing was ever more " prudent: you enter so deliberately and gra- " dually into the reason of your act, and retire " from it so artfully, that the case itself, in the " opinion of all, appears to be ripe for punish- " ment. You have freed us therefore both from " our danger and our fears, and have done an " act of the greatest service, not onely to the " present times, but for the example of it also " to posterity. You are to consider, that the " Republic now rests upon your shoulders; and " that it is your part, not onely to protect, but " to adorn those men, from whom we have re- " ceived this beginning of our liberty: but of " this we shall talk more fully when we meet " again, as I hope we shall shortly: in the mean " while, since you are now the common guar- " dian both of the Republic and of us all, take " care, my dear Dolabella, that you guard " more especially your own safety [*n*]."

In this retreat from *Rome* he had a mind to make an excursion to *Greece*, and pay a visit to his Son at *Athens*, whose conduct did not please him, and seemed to require *his presence to reform and set it right* [*o*]. But the news of Dolabella's behaviour, and the hopes which it gave of gaining the *onely thing that was wanted, a Head and Leader of their cause*, armed with the authority of the state, made him resolve to stay at least till after *the first of* June, lest his absence should be interpreted as a kind of desertion: nor did he ever intend indeed to leave *Italy*, till he could do

[*n*] Ep. fam. 9. 14.

[*o*] Quod sentio valde esse utile ad confirmationem Ciceronis, me illuc venire. [Ad Att. 14. 13.] magni interest Ciceronis, vel mea potius, vel mehercule utriusque me intervenire discenti. Ib. 16.

do it without cenſures, *and to the full ſatisfaction of Brutus, whom he was determined never to deſert on any occaſion* [*p*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

HE had frequent meetings and conferences all this while with his old friends of the oppoſite party; the late Miniſters of Cæſar's power; Panſa, Hirtius, Balbus, Matius, *&c.* But Cæſar's death, on which their ſentiments were very different from his, had in great meaſure broken their former confidence: and tho' the popularity of the act made them ſomewhat ſhy of ſpeaking their minds freely about it, yet he eaſily perceived that they were utterly diſpleaſed with it, and ſeemed to want an occaſion of revenging it. Panſa and Hirtius, as has been ſaid, were nominated by Cæſar to the conſulſhip of the next year; and as Cæſar's acts were ratified by the Senate, were to ſucceed to it of courſe. This made Brutus and Caſſius preſs Cicero earneſtly to gain them, if poſſible, to the Republican ſide, but eſpecially Hirtius, whom they moſt ſuſpected. But Cicero ſeems to have had little hopes of ſucceſs; his account of them to Atticus is, "That there was not one of them who did not "dread peace more than war; that they were "perpetually lamenting the miſerable end of ſo "great a man; and declaring, that the Repub"lic was ruined by it; that all his acts would "be made void, as ſoon as peoples fears were "over; and that clemency was his ruin; ſince, "if it had not been for that, he could not have "periſhed in ſuch a manner: and of Hirtius in "particular; he warmly loves him, ſays he,

[*p*] Nec autem videmur habituri ducem, quod unum Municipia, bonique deſiderant. Ib. 20.

Nec vero diſcedam, niſi cum tu me id honeſte putabis facere poſſe. Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero. Ib. 15.—vid. 16, 13.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" whom Brutus stabbed: as to their desiring me " to make him better, I am doing my endeavour: he talks very honestly, but lives with " Balbus; who talks honestly too: how far " they are to be trusted, you must consider [*q*]."

BUT of all this set of men, Matius was the most open and explicit, in condemning the act of the Conspirators, so as to put Cicero out of humour with him, as a man irreconcileable to the liberty of the Republic. Cicero called upon him on his way from *Rome* into the Country, and found him sullen, desponding, and foreboding nothing but wars and desolation, as the certain consequence of Cæsar's death. Among other particulars of their conversation, Matius told him something which Cæsar had lately said both of him and Brutus; that he used to say of Brutus, " it was of great consequence which " way he stood inclined, since whatever he had " a mind to, he pursued with an impetuous " eagerness: that he had remarked this of him " more especially, in his pleading for Deiotarus at *Nicæa*; where he spoke with a surprizing vehemence and freedom: and of " Cicero, that when he was attending Cæsar, " in the cause of Sestius, Cæsar perceiving him " sitting

[*q*] Minime enim obscurum est, quid isti moliantur; meus vero discipulus, qui hodie apud me cænat, valde amat illum, quem Brutus noster sauciavit. & si quæris, perspexi enim plane, timent otium. Ὑπόθεσιν autem hanc habent, eamque præ se ferunt, virum clarissimum interfectum, totam Rempub. illius interitu perturbatam: irrita fore, quæ ille egisset, simul ac desistemus timere. Clementiam illi malo fuisse: qua si usus non esset, nihil illi tale accidere potuisse. Ad Att. 14. 22.

Quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam, & ille optime loquitur, sed vivit habitatque cum Balbo: qui item bene loquitur. Quid credas videris. Ib. 20, 21.

" ſitting in the room, and waiting till he was " called, ſaid; Can I doubt of my being ex- " tremely odious, when Cicero ſits waiting, " and cannot get acceſs to me: yet if any man " be eaſy enough to forgive it, it is he, though " I do not queſtion, but that he really hates " me [*r*]."

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THERE were ſeveral reaſons however, which made it neceſſary to theſe men, to court Cicero at this time as much as ever: for if the Republic happened to recover itſelf, he was of all men the moſt capable to protect them on that ſide: if not, the moſt able to aſſiſt them againſt Antony, whoſe deſigns and ſucceſs they dreaded ſtill more: for if they muſt have a new maſter, they were diſpoſed, for the ſake of Cæſar, to prefer his Heir and Nephew Octavius. We find Hirtius and Panſa therefore very aſſiduous in their obſervance of him: they ſpent a great part of the ſummer with him at different times in his villa's, giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their good intentions, and diſpoſition to peace, *and that he ſhould be the Arbiter of their future Conſulſhip:* and though he continued ſtill *to have ſome diſtruſt of Hirtius, yet Panſa wholly perſuaded him, that he was ſincere* [*s*].

[*r*] De Bruto noſtro—Cæſarem ſolitum dicere. Magni refert hic quid velit: ſed quicquid vult, valde vult. Idque eum animadvertiſſe cum pro Deiotaro Niceæ dixerit, valde vehementer eum viſum, & libere dicere. Atque etiam proxime cum Seſtii rogatu apud eum fuiſſem, expectaremque ſedens quoad vocaret, dixiſſe eum; ego dubitem quin ſummo in odio ſim, cum M. Cicero ſedeat, nec ſuo commodo me convenire poſſit? Atqui ſi quiſquam eſt facilis, hic eſt: tamen non dubito, quin me male oderit. Ad Att. 14. 1.

[*s*] Cum Panſa vixi in Pompeiano. Is plane mihi probabat, ſe bene ſentire & cupere pacem, &c. Ad Att. 14, 20. it. 15, 1.

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BRUTUS and Caſſius continued ſtill near *Lanuvium*, in the neighbourhood of Cicero's *Villa at Aſtura*, of which, at Cicero's deſire, they ſometimes made uſe [*t*]: being yet irreſolute, what meaſures they ſhould take; they kept themſelves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer; and waiting particularly to ſee what humor the Conſuls would be in at the next meeting of the Senate, with regard to themſelves and the Republic: and ſince they were driven from the diſcharge of their Prætorſhip in the City, they contrived to put the people in mind of them from time to time by their edicts, in which they made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of their pacific diſpoſition, and declared, "that their conduct ſhould give "no handle for a civil war; and that they "would ſubmit to a perpetual exil, if it would "contribute in any manner to the public con-"cord, being content with the conſciouſneſs of "their act, as the greateſt honor which they "could enjoy [*u*]." Their preſent deſign was to come to *Rome on the firſt of* June, and take their places in the Senate, if it ſhould be thought adviſeable; or to preſent themſelves at leaſt in the *Roſtra*, and try the affections of the people, for whom Brutus was preparing a ſpeech. They ſent to know Cicero's opinion of this project, with the copy alſo of that ſpeech *which Brutus made*

[*t*] Velim mehercule Aſturæ Brutus. [Ad Att. 14. 11.] Brutum apud me fuiſſe gaudeo: modo & libenter fuerit & ſat diu. Ib. 15. 3.

[*u*] Teſtati edicti, libenter ſe vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum Reipub. conſtaret concordia, nec ullam belli civilis præbituros materiam, plurimum ſibi honoris eſſe in conſcientia facti ſui, &c. [Vell. P. 2. 62.] Edictum Bruti & Caſſi probo. [Ad Att. 14. 20.] De quibus tu bonam ſpem te habere ſignificas propter edictorum humanitatem. Ib. 15. 1.

made in the Capitol on the Day of Cæsar's death, begging his revisal and correction of it, in order to it's being published. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, " the Oration is drawn with " the utmost elegance both of sentiments and " stile; yet were I to handle the subject, I " should work it up with more fire. You " know the character of the speaker: for which " reason I could not correct it. For in the " stile, in which our friend would excell, and " according to the Idea, which he has formed " of the best manner of speaking, he has suc- " ceeded so well, that nothing can be better: " but whether I am in the right or the wrong, " I am of a quite different tast. I wish how- " ever, that you would read it, if you have " not already, and let me know what you " think of it: though I am afraid, lest through " the prejudice of your name, you should shew " too much of the *Attic* in your judgement: " yet if you remember the thunder of Demost- " henes, you will perceive that the greatest " force may consist with the perfection of *Attic* " elegance [*x*]."

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ATTICUS did not like the speech; he thought the manner too cold and spiritless for so great an occasion; and begged of Cicero to draw up another to be published *in Brutus's name:* but Cicero would not consent to it, thinking the thing itself improper, and knowing, *that Brutus would take it ill* [*y*]. In one of his Letters on the subject, " Though you think me in the " wrong, says he, to imagine, that the Re- " public depends on Brutus, the fact is certain- " ly so: there will either be none at all, or it " will be saved by him and his accomplices.

[*x*] Ad Att. 15. 1. [*y*] Ib. 3, 4.

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" As to your urging me to write a ſpeech for
" him, take it from me, my Atticus, as a ge-
" neral Rule, which by long experience I have
" found to be true, that there never was a Poet
" or Orator, who thought any one preferable
" to himſelf: this is the caſe even with bad
" ones: what ſhall we think then of Brutus,
" who has both wit and learning? eſpecially
" after the late experiment of him, in the caſe
" of the edict: I drew up one for him at your
" deſire: I liked mine; he his: beſides, when
" at his earneſt ſolicitation I addreſſed to him
" my Treatiſe on the *beſt manner of ſpeaking*, he
" wrote word, not onely to me, but to you too,
" that the kind of eloquence which I recom-
" mended, did not pleaſe him. Let every one
" therefore compoſe for himſelf—I wiſh only
" that it may be in his power to make a ſpeech
" at all; for if ever he can appear again with
" ſafety at *Rome*, we have gained the victo-
" ry [z]."

IN this interval a new actor appeared on the ſtage, who, tho' hitherto but little conſidered, ſoon made the firſt figure upon it, and drew all people's eyes towards him, *the young Octavius*, who was left by his uncle Cæſar, the heir of his name and eſtate. He had been ſent a few months before to *Apollonia*, a celebrated Academy, or ſchool of learning in *Macedonia*, there to wait for his uncle on his way to the *Parthian* war, in which he was to attend him: but the news of Cæſar's death ſoon brought him back to *Italy*, to try what fortunes he could carve for himſelf, by the credit of his new name, and the help of his uncle's friends. He arrived at *Naples on the eighteenth of* April, whither Balbus went the next

[z] Ad Att. 14. 20.

next morning to receive him, and returned the same day to Cicero near *Cumæ*, having first conducted Octavius *to the adjoining Villa of his Father in law Philip:* Hirtius and Pansa were with Cicero at the same time, to whom they immediately presented Octavius with the strongest professions on the part of the young man, *that he would be governed intirely by his direction* [*a*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THE sole pretension, which he avowed at present, was, to assert his right to the succession of his uncle's estate, and to claim the possession of it: but this was thought an attempt too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, scarce yet above *eighteen years old:* for the Republican party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest with the inheritance of the Estate, he should grasp at the power of his uncle; and Antony still more, who had destined that succession to himself, and already seized the effects, lest by the advantage of all that wealth, Octavius might be in a condition to make head against him. The mother therefore and her husband Philip, out of concern for his safety, pressed him *to suspend his claim for a while, and not assume an invidious name*, before he could see what turn the public affairs would take: but he was of too great a spirit to relish any suggestions of caution; declaring it *base and infamous to think himself unworthy of a name, of which Cæsar had thought him worthy* [*b*]: and there were many

[*a*] Octavius Neopolim venit a. d. XIIII Kal. ibi eum Balbus mane postridie; eodemque die mecum in Cumano. [Ad Att. 14. 10.] Hic mecum Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa. Modo venit Octavius, & quidem in proximam viliam Philippi, mihi totus deditus. Ib. 11.

[*b*] Non placebat Atiæ matri, Philippoque vitrico, adiri nomen invidiosæ fortunæ Cæsaris—sprevit cœlestis animus humana consilia—dictitans nefas esse, quo nomine Cæsari dignus esset visus, sibimet ipsum videri indignum. Vell. P. 2. 60.

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about him conſtantly puſhing him on, to throw himſelf upon the affections of the City, and the army, before his enemies had made themſelves too ſtrong for him; ſo that he was on fire to be at *Rome*, and to enter into action; being determined to riſk all his hopes on the credit of his name, and the friends and troops of his uncle.

BEFORE he left the country, Cicero ſpeaking of him to Atticus, ſays, "Octavius is ſtill "with us, and treats me with the greateſt re"ſpect and friendſhip: his domeſtics give him "the name of Cæſar: Philip does not; nor for "that reaſon do I. It is not poſſible for him, "in my opinion, to make a good Citizen; "there are ſo many about him, who threaten "the death of our friends: they declare, that "what they have done can never be forgiven. "What will be the caſe, think you, when the "boy comes to *Rome*, where our deliverers "cannot ſhew their heads? who yet muſt ever "be famous, nay, happy too, in the conſciouſ"neſs of their act: but as for us, unleſs I am "deceived, we ſhall be undone. I long there"fore to go abroad, where I may hear no more "of thoſe *Pelopidæ*, *&c.* [*c*]"

As ſoon as Octavius came to *Rome*, he was produced to the people by one of the Tribuns, and made a ſpeech to them from *the Roſtra*, which

[*c*] Nobiſcum hic perhonorifice & amice Octavius: quem quidem ſui Cæſarem ſalutabant, Philippus non; itaque ne nos quidem: quem nego poſſe bonum civem, ita multi circumſtant, qui quidem noſtris mortem minitantur. Negant hæc ferri poſſe, Quid cenſes, cum Romam puer venerit, ubi noſtri liberatores tuti eſſe non poſſunt? qui quidem ſemper erunt clari; conſcientia vero facti ſui etiam beati: ſed nos, niſi me fallit, jacebimus. Itaque aveo exire, ubi nec Pelopidarum— ad Att. 14. 12.

which was now generally poſſeſſed by the enemies of Brutus, who were perpetually making uſe of the advantage, to inflame the mob againſt him: "Remember, ſays Cicero, what I tell "you: this cuſtom of ſeditious harangues is ſo "much cheriſhed, that thoſe *Heroes of ours, or* "*rather Gods*, will live indeed in immortal "glory, yet not without envy, and even dan-"ger: their great comfort however is, the con-"ſciouſneſs of a moſt glorious act: but what "comfort for us, who when our King is killed, "are not yet free? But fortune muſt look to "that, ſince reaſon has no ſway—[*d*]." A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

OCTAVIUS ſeconded his ſpeech, by what was like to pleaſe the inferior part of the City much better; the repreſentation *of public ſhews and plays in honor of his uncle's victories.* Cæſar had promiſed and prepared for them in his lifetime; but thoſe whom he had entruſted with the management, durſt not venture to exhibit them after his death, till Octavius, *as his Heir and repreſentative, undertook the affair, as devolved of courſe upon himſelf* [*e*]. In theſe ſhews Octavius brought out *the Golden Chair*, which among the other honors decreed to Cæſar when living, was ordered *to be placed in the Theatres and Circus, as to a Deity*, on all ſolemn occaſions [*f*]. But the *Tribuns ordered the chair to be taken away*, upon which the body of the Knights

[*d*] Sed memento, ſic alitur conſuetudo perditarum concionum, ut noſtri illi non Heroes, ſed Dii, futuri quidem in gloria ſempiterna ſint, ſed non ſine invidia, ne ſine periculo quidem: verum illis magna conſolatio, conſcientia maximi & clariſſimi facti: nobis quæ, qui interfecto Rege liberi non ſumus? ſed hæc fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat. Ad Att. 14. 11.

[*e*] Ludos autem victoriæ Cæſaris non audentibus facere, quibus obtigerat id munus, ipſe edidit — Suet. Aug. x. Dio. p. 272.

[*f*] Dio. 44. 243.

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Knights teſtified their applauſe by a general clap. Atticus ſent an account of this to Cicero, which was very agreeable to him [*g*]: but he was not at all pleaſed with Octavius's conduct, ſince it indicated a ſpirit determined to revive the memory, and avenge the death of Cæſar: and he was the leſs pleaſed to hear alſo, *that Matius had taken upon him the care of theſe ſhews* [*h*]; ſince it confirmed the ſuſpicion, which he had before conceived of Matius; and made him apprehenſive, that he would be an ill Counſellor to young Octavius, in which light he ſeems to have repreſented him to Brutus. Matius was informed of theſe ſuſpicions, and complained to their common friend Trebatius of Cicero's unkind opinion and unfriendly treatment of him, which gave occaſion to the following apology from Cicero, and the anſwer to it from Matius; which is deſervedly valued, not only for the beauty of its ſentiments and compoſition, but for preſerving to us a name and character, which was almoſt loſt to Hiſtory, of a moſt eſteemed and amiable perſon, who lived in the firſt degree of confidence with Cæſar, and for parts, learning, and virtue, was ſcarce inferior to any of that age.

CICERO takes pains to perſuade Matius, that he had ſaid nothing of him, but what was conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt friendſhip; and to gain the eaſier credit with him, prefaces his apology with a detail and acknowledgement of Matius's perpetual civilities, and obſervance of him thro' life, even when in the height of his power

[*g*] De Sella Cæſaris, bene Tribuni. Præclaros etiam xiv. ordines. Ad Att. 15. 3.

[*h*] Ludorum ejus apparatus, & Matius ac Poſtumius procuratores non placent. Ad Att. 15. 2.

power and credit with Cæsar: but when he comes to the point of the complaint, he touches it very tenderly, and observes onely in general, "That as Matius's dignity exposed every thing "which he did to public notice, so the malice "of the world interpreted some of his acts "more hardly than they deserved: that it was "his care always to give the most favourable "turn to them——but you, says he, a man "of the greatest learning, are not ignorant; "that if Cæsar was in fact a King, as I indeed "look upon him to have been, there are two "ways of considering the case of your duty: "either that, which I commonly take, of ex- "tolling your fidelity and humanity, in shew- "ing so much affection even to a dead friend; "or the other, which some people use; that "the liberty of our Country ought to be pre- "ferred to the life of any friend. I wish that "you had heard with what zeal I used to de- "fend you in these conversations: but there are "two things especially, that make the princi- "pal part of your praise, which no man speaks "of more frequently or more freely than I; "that you, of all Cæsar's friends, were the "most active both in dissuading the civil war, "and in moderating the victory; in which I "have met with no body that does not agree "with me, *&c.* [*i*]"

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MATIUS to CICERO.

"Your Letter gave me great pleasure, by "letting me see that you retain still that favo- "rable opinion of me, which I had always ho- "ped and wished; and tho' I had never indeed "any doubt of it, yet for the high value that "I

[*i*] Ep. fam. xi. 27.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" I ſet upon it, I was very ſollicitous that it " ſhould remain always inviolable: I was con- " ſcious to myſelf, that I had done nothing " which could reaſonably give offence to any " honeſt man; and did not imagine therefore, " that a perſon of your great and excellent ac- " compliſhments could be induced to take any " without reaſon, eſpecially againſt one, who " had always profeſſed, and ſtill continued to " profeſs, a ſincere good-will to you. Since all " this then ſtands juſt as I wiſh it, I will now " give an anſwer to thoſe accuſations, from " which you, agreeably to your character, out " of your ſingular goodneſs and friendſhip, have " ſo often defended me. I am no ſtranger to " what has been ſaid of me by certain perſons, " ſince Cæſar's death: they call it a crime in " me, that I am concerned for the loſs of an " intimate friend, and ſorry that the man whom " I loved met with ſo unhappy a fate: they " ſay, that our Country ought to be preferred " to any friendſhip, as if they had already made " it evident, that his death was of ſervice to the " Republic: but I will not deal craftily: I own " myſelf not to be arrived at that degree of " wiſdom; nor did I yet follow Cæſar in our " late diſſentions, but my friend; whom tho' " diſpleaſed with the thing, I could not deſert: " for I never approved the civil war, or the " cauſe of it; but took all poſſible pains to " ſtifle it in its birth. Upon the victory there- " fore of a familiar friend, I was not eager ei- " ther to advance, or to enrich myſelf: an ad- " vantage, which others, who had leſs intereſt " with him than I, abuſed to great exceſs. Nay, " my circumſtances were even hurt by Cæſar's " law, to whoſe kindneſs the greateſt part of " thoſe,

" thoſe, who now rejoice at his death, owed A. Urb. 709.
" their very continuance in the City. I ſolli- Cic. 63.
" cited the pardon of the vanquiſhed with the Coſſ.
" ſame zeal, as if it had been for myſelf. Is it M. ANTONI-
" poſſible therefore for me, who labored to pro- NS. P. COR-
" cure the ſafety of all, not to be concerned for NELIUS DO-
" the death of him, from whom I uſed to pro- LABELLA.
" cure it? eſpecially when the very ſame men,
" who were the cauſe of making him odious,
" were the authors alſo of deſtroying him. But
" I ſhall have cauſe, they ſay, to repent, for
" daring to condemn their act. Unheard of
" inſolence! that it ſhould be allowed to ſome
" to glory in a wicked action, yet not to others,
" even to grieve at it without puniſhment. But
" this was always free even to ſlaves, to fear,
" rejoice, and grieve by their own will, not
" that of another; which yet theſe men, who
" call themſelves the authors of liberty, are en-
" deavouring to extort from us by the force of
" terror. But they may ſpare their threats: for
" no danger ſhall terrify me from performing
" my duty and the offices of humanity; ſince it
" was always my opinion, that an honeſt death
" was never to be avoided, often even to be
" ſought. But why are they angry with me, for
" wiſhing onely, that they may repent of their
" act? I wiſh that all the world may regret
" Cæſar's death. But I ought, they ſay, as a
" member of civil ſociety, to wiſh the good and
" ſafety of the Republic. If my paſt life and
" future hopes do not already prove that I wiſh
" it, without my ſaying ſo, I will not pretend
" to evince it by argument. I beg of you there-
" fore in the ſtrongeſt terms, to attend to facts
" rather than to words: and if you think it the
" moſt uſeful to one in my circumſtances, that

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" what is right ſhould take place; never imagine, that I can have any union or commerce " with ill-deſigning men. I acted the ſame " part in my youth, where to miſtake would " have been pardonable; ſhall I then undo it all " again, and renounce my principle in my declining age? No; it is my reſolution to do " nothing that can give any offence; except it " be, when I lament the cruel fate of a dear " friend and illuſtrious man. If I were in different ſentiments, I would never diſown what " I was doing; leſt I ſhould be thought, not " only wicked for purſuing what was wrong, " but falſe and cowardly for diſſembling it. But " I undertook the care of the ſhews, which " young Cæſar exhibited for the victory of his " uncle: this was an affair of private, not of " public duty: it was what I ought to have " performed to the memory and honor of my " dead friend; and what I could not therefore " deny to a youth of the greateſt hopes, and ſo " highly worthy of Cæſar. But I go often alſo " to the Conſul Antony's to pay my compliments: yet you will find thoſe very men go " oftner to aſk and receive favours, who reflect " upon me for it, as diſaffected to my Country. " But what arrogance is this? When Cæſar ne- " ver hinder'd me from viſiting whom I would; " even thoſe whom he did not care for; that " they who have deprived me of him, ſhould " attempt by their cavils to debar me from pla- " cing my eſteem where I think proper. But " I am not afraid, that either the modeſty of " my life ſhould not be ſufficient to confute all " falſe reports of me for the future, or that they, " who do not love me for my conſtancy to Cæ- " ſar, would not chuſe to have their friends re-

" ſemble

" ſemble me, rather than themſelves. For my
" own part, if I could have my wiſh, I would
" ſpend the remainder of my days in quiet at
" *Rhodes:* but if any accident prevent me, will
" live in ſuch a manner at *Rome*, as always to
" deſire that what is right may prevail. I am
" greatly obliged to our friend Trebatius, for
" giving me this aſſurance of your ſincere and
" friendly regard for me, and for making it my
" duty to reſpect and obſerve a man, whom I
" had eſteemed always before with inclination.
" Take care of your health, and preſerve me
" in your affection—[*k*]."

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ANTONY all this while was not idle; but puſhed on his deſigns with great vigor and addreſs: in his progreſs through *Italy*, his buſineſs was to gather up Cæſar's *old ſoldiers* from the ſeveral colonies and quarters in which they were ſettled; and by large bribes, and larger promiſes to attach them to his intereſts, and draw great bodies of them toward *Rome* to be ready for any purpoſe, that his affairs ſhould require. In the City likewiſe he neglected no means, which his Conſular authority offered, how unjuſt or violent ſoever, of ſtrengthening his

[*k*] Ep. fam. xi. 28. This Cn. Matius lived long afterwards in ſuch favour and familiarity with Auguſtus, as to be diſtinguiſhed by the title of Auguſtus's *friend*. Yet he ſeems to have declined all public honors and buſineſs, and to have ſpent the remainder of his days in an elegant and pleaſurable retreat; employing his time and ſtudies in the improvements of gardening and planting, as well as in refining the delicacy of a ſplendid and luxurious life, which was the general taſte of that age. For he firſt taught how *to inoculate and propagate ſome of their curious and foreign fruits*; and introduced the way of *cutting trees and groves into regular forms:* on which ſubjects he publiſhed ſeveral books, which are mentioned by the later writers. Vid. Columel. de re ruſt. l. 12. c. 44. init. Plin. Hiſt. l. 12. 2: 15. 14.

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his power; and let all people now ſee, for what ends he had provided *that decree*, to which the Senate had conſented for the ſake of peace, *of confirming Cæſar's acts:* for being the maſter both of Cæſar's *papers, and of his ſecretary* Faberius, by whoſe hand they were written [*l*], he had an opportunity of forging and inſerting at pleaſure whatever he found of uſe to him; which he practiſed without any reſerve or management; ſelling publicly for money, whatever immunities were deſired, by Countries, Cities, Princes, or private Men, on pretence, *that they had been granted by Cæſar, and entered into his books.* This alarmed and ſhocked all honeſt men, who ſaw the miſchief, but knew no remedy: Antony had the power, and their own decree had juſtified it: Cicero complains of it heavily, in many of his Letters, and declares it, *a thouſand times better to die than to ſuffer it* [*m*]. "Is it ſo then? ſays he; is all, that our Bru- "tus has done, come to this, that he might "live at laſt at *Lanuvium?* That Trebonius "might ſteal away through private roads to his "province? That all the acts, writings, ſay- "ings, promiſes, thoughts of Cæſar ſhould "have greater force now, than when he him- "ſelf was living?" All which he charges to that miſtake of the firſt day, in *not ſummoning the Senate into the Capitol*, where they might have done what they pleaſed, when their own party was uppermoſt, and *thoſe Robbers*, as he calls them, *diſperſed and dejected* [*n*].

AMONG

[*l*] Τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βεβουλευμένων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔχων, καὶ τὴν γραμματέα τὸν Καίσαρος Φαβέριον, ἐς πάντα οἷς ἐβούλετο. App. l. 3. 529.

[*m*] Ep. fam. 12. 1. Ad Att. 14. 9.

[*n*] Itane vero? hoc meus & tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanuvii eſſet? ut Trebonius itineribus

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AMONG the other acts, which Antony confirmed, on the pretence of their being ordered by Cæſar, *he granted the freedom of the City to all* Sicily, *and reſtored to King Deiotarus all his former dominions.* Cicero ſpeaks of this with great indignation; "O my Atticus, ſays he, *the Ides* "*of* March have given us nothing, but the joy "of revenging ourſelves on him, whom we "had reaſon to hate — it was a brave act, "but left imperfect—you know what a kind- "neſs I have for the *Sicilians*; that I eſteem "it an honor to be their Patron: Cæſar grant- "ed them many privileges, which I did not "diſlike; though his giving them *the rights of* "Latium was intolerable: yet that was nothing "to what Antony has done, who for a large "ſum of money has publiſhed a law, pre- "tended to be made by the Dictator, in an aſ- "ſembly of the people, though we never heard "a ſyllable of it in his life time, which makes "them all Citizens of *Rome*. Is not Deiota- "rus's caſe juſt the ſame? He is worthy indeed "of any Kingdom; but not by the grant of "Fulvia: there are a thouſand inſtances of the "ſame ſort [*o*]." When this laſt act was hung up as uſual *in the Capitol*, among the public monuments of the City, the forgery appeared ſo groſs, that the people, in the midſt of their concern, could not help laughing at it; knowing, *that Cæſar hated no man ſo much as Deiotarus.* But the bargain was made in Fulvia's *apartments, for the ſum of eighty thouſand pounds*, by the King's agents at *Rome*, without conſulting

neribus deviis proficiſceretur in provinciam? ut omnia facta, ſcripta, dicta, promiſſa, cogitata Cæſaris plus valerent, quam ſi ipſe viveret? &c. Ad Att. 14. 10.

[*o*] Ad Att. 14. 12.

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Cicero, or any other of their Maſter's friends: yet the old King, it ſeems, was beforehand with them, and no ſooner heard *of Cæſar*'s death, than he ſeized upon his dominions again by force. "He knew it, ſays Cicero, to be an univerſal "right, that what Tyrants had forcibly taken "away, the true owners might recover when-"ever they were able:—he acted like a man, "but we contemptibly; who whilſt we hate "the author, yet maintain his acts [*p*]." By theſe methods Antony preſently amaſſed infinite ſums of money; for tho' at the time of Cæſar's death he owed, as Cicero told him, *above three hundred thouſand pounds, yet within leſs than a fortnight after it he had paid off the whole debt* [*q*].

THERE was another inſtance of his violence, which gave ſtill greater offence to the City; *his ſeizing the public treaſure*, which Cæſar had depoſited for the occaſions of the government, *in the Temple of Opis*, amounting to *above five millions and a half of our money*; beſides what Calpurnia, Cæſar's *wife, from his private treaſure*, had delivered into his hands, computed at *about another million*. This was no extraordinary ſum, if we conſider the vaſtneſs of the mine from which it was drawn, the extent of the *Roman* Empire; and that Cæſar was of all men the

[*p*] Syngrapha H. S. centies per legatos—ſine noſtra, ſine reliquorum hoſpitum Regis ſententia, facta in gynæceo: quo in loco plurimæ res venierunt, & veneunt—Rex enim ipſe ſua ſponte, nullis commentariis Cæſaris, ſimul atque audivit ejus interitum, ſuo marte res ſuas recuperavit. Sciebat homo ſapiens, jus ſemper hoc fuiſſe, ut, quæ Tyranni eripuiſſent, ea Tyrannis interfectis, ii quibus erepta eſſent, recuperarent—Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus. Phil. 2. 37.

[*q*] Tu autem quadringenties H. S. quod Idibus martiis debuiſti, quonam in odo ante Kalendas Aprilis debere deſiſti?—Phil. 2. 37.

the moſt rapacious in extorting it; Cicero alluding to the manner in which it was raiſed, calls it *a bloody and deadly treaſure*, gathered from the ſpoils and ruin of the ſubjects; *which, if it were not reſtored, as it ought to be, to the true owners, might have been of great ſervice to the public, towards eaſing them of their taxes* [r]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

BUT Antony, who followed Cæſar's maxims, took care to ſecure it to himſelf: the uſe of it was to purchaſe ſoldiers; and he was now in condition to outbid any Competitor: but the firſt purchaſe that he made with it, was of *his Collegue* Dolabella, who had long been oppreſſed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promiſe of a farther ſhare in the plunder of the Empire, he drew intirely from Cicero and the Republican party, into his own meaſures. This was an acquiſition worth any price to him: the general inclination both of the City and the Country was clearly againſt him: the Town of *Puteoli*, one of the moſt conſiderable of *Italy*, had lately choſen *the Two Brutus's and Caſſius for their Patrons* [s], and there wanted nothing but a Leader to arm the whole Empire in that cauſe: Dolabella ſeemed to be that very perſon, *till bribed*, as Cicero ſays, *by force of money, he not onely deſerted, but overturned the Republic* [t].

[r] Ubi eſt ſepties millies H. S. quod in tabulis, quæ ſunt ad Opis patebat? funeſtæ illius quidem pecuniæ, ſed tamen, ſi iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, quæ nos a tributis poſſet vindicare. Phil. 2. 37. it. Phil. 1. 7. it. Plutarch. in Ant.

[s] Vexavit Puteolanos, quod Caſſium & Brutus Patronos adoptaſſent. Phil. 2. 41.

[t] Ut illum oderim, quod cum Rempub. me auctore defendere cæpiſſet, non modo deſeruerit, emptus pecunia, ſed etiam quantum in ipſo fuit, everterit. Ad Att. 16. 15.

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THESE proceedings, which were preparatory to the appointed meeting of the Senate *on the first of* June, began to open Brutus's eyes, and convince him of the miſtake of his pacific meaſures, and favorable thoughts of Antony: he now ſaw that there was no good to be expected from him, or from the Senate itſelf, under his influence: and thought it time therefore, in concert with Caſſius, to require an explicit account of his intentions, and to expoſtulate with him gently in the following Letter.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS Prætors, to M. ANTONIUS Conſul.

" If we were not perſuaded of your ſincerity " and good-will to us, we ſhould not have " written this to you; which out of the kind " diſpoſition that you bear to us, you will take " without doubt in good part. We are in- " formed that a great multitude of *veteran ſol-* " *diers* is already come to *Rome*, and a much " greater expected there on the firſt of *June*. " If we could harbour any ſuſpicion or fear of " you, we ſhould be unlike ourſelves: yet ſure- " ly, after we had put ourſelves into your " power, and by your advice diſmiſſed the " friends, whom we had about us from the " great Towns, and that not onely by public " Edict, but by private Letters, we deſerve to " be made acquainted with your deſigns; eſpe- " cially in an affair which relates to ourſelves. " We beg of you therefore to let us know what " your intentions are with regard to us. Do " you think that we can be ſafe in ſuch a croud " of *Veterans?* Who have thoughts, we hear, " even of rebuilding the Altar; which no man " can deſire or approve, who wiſhes our ſafety " and

" and honor. That we had no other view A. Urb. 709.
" from the firſt but peace, nor ſought any thing Cic. 63.
" elſe but the public liberty, the event ſhews. Coſſ.
" No body can deceive us, but you; which is M. ANTONI-
" not certainly agreeable to your virtue and in- US. P. COR-
" tegrity: but no man elſe has it in his power NELIUS DO-
" to deceive us. We truſted, and ſhall truſt to LABELLA.
" you alone. Our friends are under the great-
" eſt apprehenſions for us: for though they are
" perſuaded of your integrity, yet they reflect,
" that a multitude of *Veterans* may ſooner be
" puſhed on to any violence by others, than
" reſtrained by you. We deſire an explicit
" anſwer to all particulars; for it is ſilly and
" trifling to tell us, that the Veterans are called
" together, becauſe you intend to move the
" Senate in their favor in *June:* for who do
" you think will hinder it, when it is certain
" that we ſhall not? No body ought to think
" us too fond of life, when nothing can hap-
" pen to us, but with the ruin and confuſion
" of all things [*u*]."

DURING Cicero's ſtay in the Country, where he had a perpetual reſort of his friends to him, and where his thoughts ſeemed to be always employed on the Republic, yet he found leiſure to write ſeveral of thoſe *Philoſophical pieces*, which ſtill ſubſiſt both to the pleaſure and benefit of mankind. For he now compoſed *his Treatiſe on the Nature of the Gods, in three books, addreſſed to Brutus*; containing the opinions of all the Philoſophers, who had ever written any thing on that argument: to which he beſpeaks the attention of his readers, as to a ſubject of the laſt importance; which would inform them *what they ought to think of religion, piety, ſanctity, ceremonies,*

[*u*] Ep. fam. xi. 2.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

remonies, faith, oaths, temples, &c. *since all these were included in that single question of the Gods* [x]. He drew up likewise his discourse on *Divination, or the foreknowledge and prediction of future events, and the several ways by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to man:* where he explanes in two books whatever could be said for and against the actual existence of the thing itself. Both these pieces are written in the way of dialogue; of which he gives the following account. "Since Carneades, says he, "has argued both acutely and copiously against "*Divination*, in answer to the *Stoics*, I am now "inquiring what judgement we ought to form "concerning it: and for fear of giving my as-"sent rashly to a thing, either false in itself, or "not sufficiently understood, I think it best to "do, what I have already done, in my *three "books on the nature of the Gods*, weigh and "compare diligently all the arguments with "each other: for as rashness of assent and er-"ror is in all cases shameful, so most of all in "that, where we are to judge what stress is to "be laid on *auspices, and things of a divine and "religious nature*; for the danger is, lest either "by neglecting them, we involve ourselves in "an impiety, or by embracing them, in an old "woman's superstition [y]." He now also wrote his piece *on the advantages of old age*, called Cato, from the chief speaker in the Dialogue: he addressed it to Atticus, as a lecture of common comfort to them both, in that gloomy scene of life on which they were entring; *having found so much pleasure*, he says, *in writing it, that it not onely eased him of all the complaints of age, but made age itself even agreeable and*

[x] De Nat. Deor. 1. 6. [y] De Divin. 1. 4.

and chearful to him [z]. He added ſoon after another preſent of the ſame kind to Atticus, *a Treatiſe on friendſhip: a ſubject*, he ſays, *both worthy to be known to all, and peculiarly adapted to the caſe of their particular intimacy: for as I have already written of age, an old man to an old man; ſo now in the perſon of a ſincere friend, I write on friendſhip to my friend.* This is written alſo in Dialogue, the chief ſpeaker of which is Lælius; who in a converſation with his two ſons in law, Fannius and Scævola, upon the death of P. Scipio and the memorable friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between them, took occaſion, at their deſire, to explane to them the nature and benefits of true friendſhip. Scævola, who lived to a great age, and loved to retail his old ſtories to his ſcholars, uſed to relate to them with pleaſure all the particulars of this Dialogue, which Cicero having committed to his memory, dreſſed up afterwards in his own manner into the preſent form [a]. Thus this agreeable book, which when conſidered onely as an invention or eſſay, is one of the moſt entertaining pieces in antiquity, muſt needs affect us more warmly, when it is found at laſt to be a Hiſtory, or a picture drawn from the life, exhibiting the real characters and ſentiments of the beſt and greateſt men of *Rome*. He now alſo wrote his diſcourſe *on Fate*; which was the ſub-

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

[z] Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes abſterſerit ſenectutis moleſtias, ſed effecerit mollem etiam & jucundum ſenectutem. Cato. 1.

[a] Digna mihi res tum omnium cognitione, tum noſtra familiaritate viſa eſt—ſed ut tum ad ſenem ſenex de Senectute, ſic hoc libro ad amicum amiciſſimus de amicitia ſcripſi—& cum Scævola —expoſuit nobis ſermonem Lælii de amicitia, habitum ab illo ſecum, & cum altero genero C. Fannio, &c.—de Amicit. 1.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

ject of a converſation with Hirtius, in his Villa near *Puteoli*, where they ſpent ſeveral days together in *May*: and he is ſuppoſed to have finiſhed about the ſame time *a Tranſlation of Plato*'s famous Dialogue, called *Timæus, on the Nature and Origin of the Univerſe*.

BUT he was employing himſelf alſo upon a work of a different ſort, which had been long upon his hands; *A Hiſtory of his own times*, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and ſevere reflections on thoſe, who had abuſed their power to the oppreſſion of the Republic, eſpecially Cæſar and Craſſus. This he calls his *Anecdote*; a work not to be publiſhed, but to be ſhewn onely to a few friends, in the manner of Theopompus, an Hiſtorian, famed for his ſevere and invective ſtile [*b*]. Atticus was urging him to put the laſt hand to it, and to continue it down thro' Cæſar's government: but he choſe to reſerve this laſt part for a diſtinct hiſtory, in which he deſigned to vindicate at large *the juſtice of killing a Tyrant*. We meet with ſeveral hints of this deſign in his Letters: in one to Atticus, he ſays, "I have not yet poliſhed my *Anecdote* "to my mind: as to what you would have me "add, it will require a ſeparate volume: but "believe me, I could ſpeak more freely and "with leſs danger againſt that deteſted party, "whilſt the Tyrant himſelf was alive, than now "when he is dead. For he, I know not why, "indulged me wonderfully: but now, which "way ſoever we ſtir, we are called back, not "onely to Cæſar's acts, but to his very thoughts. "Again; I do not well underſtand what you "would have me write: is it, that the Tyrant "was killed according to the ſtrict laws of Ju-"ſtice?

[*b*] Ad Att. 2. 6. Dionyſ. Halic. Proæm. 1.

"ſtice? Of that I ſhall both ſpeak and write "my thoughts fully on another occaſion [*c*]." His other friends alſo ſeem to have had ſome notice of this work; for *Trebonius*, in a Letter to him from *Athens*, after reminding him of his promiſe to give him a place in ſome of his writings, adds, *I do not doubt, but that, if you write any thing on the death of Cæſar, you will give me not the leaſt ſhare, both of that act, and of your affection* [*d*]. Dion Caſſius ſays, *that he delivered this book ſealed up to his ſon, with ſtrict orders not to read or publiſh it till after his death*; but from this time he never ſaw his ſon, and left the piece probably unfiniſhed; tho' ſome copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator, Aſconius, has quoted ſeveral particulars [*e*].

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

In the end of *May* he began to move towards *Rome*, in order to aſſiſt at the Senate *on the firſt of* June, and propoſed to be at *Tuſculum* on the twenty-ſixth, of which he gave Atticus notice. There paſſed all the while a conſtant commerce of Letters between him and Brutus, who deſired *a perſonal conference with him at* Lanuvium; in which Cicero reſolved to humor him, tho' he did

[*c*] Librum meum illum ἀνεκδοτον nondum, ut volui, perpolivi. Iſta vero, quæ tu contexi vis, aliud quoddam ſeparatum volumen exſpectant. Ego autem, credas mihi velim, minore periculo exiſtimo contra illas nefarias partes vivo tyranno dici potuiſſe, quam mortuo. Ille enim neſcio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter. Nunc quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæſaris non modo acta, verum etiam cogitata revocamur. [Ad Att. 14. 17.] Sed parum intelligo quid me velis ſcribere—an ſic ut in tyrannum jure optimo cæſum? multa dicentur, multa ſcribentur a nobis, ſed alio modo ac tempore. Ib. 15. 3.

[*d*] Namque illud non dubito, quin, ſi quid de interitu Cæſaris ſcribas, non patiaris me minimam partem & rei & amoris tui ferre. Ep. fam. 12. 16.

[*e*] Vid. Dio. p. 96. it. Aſcon. in Tog. candid.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

did not think it prudent at that time, when without any particular use, it would onely give jealousy to Antony. But the nearer he came to the City, the more he was discouraged from the thoughts of entring it: he understood *that it was filled with soldiers; that Antony came thither attended by a strong body of them; that all his views were bent on war; and that he designed to transfer the province of* Gaul *from D. Brutus to himself, by a vote of the people* [*f*]. Hirtius dissuaded his going, and resolved to stay away himself; Varro sent him word, *that the Veterans talked desperately against all those who did not favor them:* Græceius also admonished him, on the part of C. Cassius, *to be upon his guard, for that certain armed men were provided for some attempt at* Tusculum. All these informations determined him at last not to venture to the Senate; but to withdraw himself from that City, where *he had not onely florished*, he says, *with the greatest, but lived even a slave, with some dignity* [*g*]. The major part of the Senate followed

[*f*] Puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum, non sine multo sermone—Bruto enim placere, se a me conveniri. O rem odiosam & inexplicabilem! puto me ergo iturum—Antonii consilia narras turbulenta—sed mihi totum ejus consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. Ad Att. 15. 4.

[*g*] Hirtius jam in Tusculano est, mihique, ut absim, vehementer actor est; & ille quidem pericu i causa—Varro autem noster ad me epistolam misit — in qua scriptum erat, veteranos eos, qui rejiciantur—improbissime loqui; ut magno periculo Romæ sint futuri, qui ab eorum partibus dissentire videantur. Ib. 5.

Græceius ad me scripsit, C. Cassium ad se scripsisse, homines comparari, qui in Tusculanum armati mitterentur—Id quidem mihi non videbatur; sed cavendum tamen. Ib. 15. 8.

Mihi vero deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe, in qua non modo florui cum summa, verum etiam servivi cum aliqua dignitate. Ib. 5.

ed his example, and *fled out of the City, for fear of ſome violence*, leaving the Conſuls, with a few of their Creatures, to make what decrees they thought fit [*h*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THIS turn of affairs made Cicero reſolve to proſecute what he had long been projecting, his voyage to *Greece*, to ſpend a few months *with his ſon at* Athens. He deſpaired of any good from theſe Conſuls, and intended to ſee *Rome* no more till their ſucceſſors entered into office; in whoſe adminiſtration he began to place all his hope. He wrote therefore to Dolabella to procure him the grant of *an honorary Lieutenancy*; and left Antony, *an angry man*, as he calls him, *ſhould think himſelf ſlighted*, he wrote to him too on the ſame ſubject. Dolabella immediately named him for one *of his own Lieutenants*, which anſwered his purpoſe ſtill better, for without obliging him to any ſervice, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go whereever he pleaſed: ſo that he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey [*i*]. He heard in the mean while from Balbus, that the Senate would be held again *on the fifth*; when commiſſions would be granted ſeverally to Brutus and Caſſius, *to buy up corn in* Aſia *and* Sicily, *for the uſe of the Republic: and that it would be decreed alſo at the ſame time, that Provinces ſhould be aſſigned to them, with the other Prætors, at the expiration of the year* [*k*].

THEIR.

[*h*] Kalendis Junii cum in Senatum, ut erat conſtitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. Philip. 2. 42.

[*i*] Etiam ſcripſi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, ſi ad Dolabellum ſolum ſcripſiſſem, iracundus homo commoveretur—[Ad Att. 15. 8.] Sed heus tu,—Dolabella me ſibi legavit, &c. ib. 11.

[*k*] A Balbo redditæ mihi litteræ, fore Nonis Senatum, ut Brutus in Aſia, Caſſius in Sicilia, frumentum emendum

&

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THEIR case at this time was very remarkable; it being wholly new in *Rome* to see *Prætors* driven out of the City, where their residence was absolutely necessary, and could not legally be dispensed with for above *ten days* in the year: but Antony readily procured a decree to absolve them from the laws [*l*]; being glad to see them in a situation so contemptible; stript of their power, and suffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection: their friends therefore at *Rome* had been soliciting the Senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the first Magistracies of the Republic [*m*].

THIS was the ground of the commission just mentioned *to buy corn*; which seemed however to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by Antony, who affected still to speak of them always *with the greatest respect* [*n*]. But their friends thought any thing better for them than to sit still in *Italy*; where their persons were exposed to danger from *the veteran soldiers*, who were all now in motion; and that this employment would be a security to them for the present, as well as an opportunity

& ad urbem mittendum curarent. O rem miseram! ait, eodem tempore decretum iri, uti is & reliquis Prætoriis provinciæ decernantur. Ib. 9.

[*l*] Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plusquam decem dies abfuisset? Phil. 2. 13.

[*m*] Καὶ αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐυπρέπειαν ἡ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιντο. Appian. Bell. Civ. l. 4. 622. it. l. 3. 530.

[*n*] Frumentum imponere — quod munus in Rep. sordidius? [Ad Att. 15. x.] Patriæ liberatores urbe carebant — quos tamen ipsi Consules & in concionibus & in omni sermone laudabant. Phil. 1. 2.

nity of providing for their future safety, by enabling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a design of seizing some Provinces abroad, and arming themselves in defence of the Republic: which was what their enemies were most afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious. Cicero in the mean time, at their desire, had again recommended their interests to Hirtius, who gave him the following answer. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" I wish that Brutus and Cassius could be " prevailed with by you as easily to lay aside " all crafty counsils, as they can obtain by you " from me whatever they desire. They were " leaving *Italy*, you say, when they wrote to " you: whither? or wherefore? do not let " them go, I beseech you, my dear Cicero: " nor suffer the Republic to be wholly lost; " though overwhelmed indeed already by these " rapines, burnings, murthers. If they are " afraid of any thing, let them be upon their " guard; but act nothing offensively: they " will not, I am confident, gain a tittle the " more by the most vigorous, than the most " pacific measures, if they use but caution. The " things which are now stirring cannot last " long; but if made the subject of war, will " acquire present strength to hurt. Let me " know your opinion of what may be expect- " ed from them."——Cicero sent him word, *that he would be answerable for their attempting nothing desperate*; and was informed at the same time by Balbus, *that Servilia, Brutus's mother, had undertaken that they should not leave* Italy [o].

SER-

[o] Cui rescripsi nihil illos callidius cogitare, idque confirmavi—Balbus ad me—Serviliam confirmare non discessuros. Ad Att. 15. 6.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

SERVILIA, though sister to Cato, had been one of Cæsar's *Mistresses*, and next to Cleopatra, the most beloved of them all: in the civil war he gave her several rich farms out of his *Pompeian* confiscations; and is said to have bought a single jewel for her at the price of about 50,000*l.* [*p*]. She was a woman of spirit and intrigue, in great credit with *the Cæsarean party*, and at this very time possessed *the Estate and Villa of Pontius Aquila, one of the Conspirators*, which had been confiscated and granted to her by Cæsar. Cicero reckons it among *the solæcisms of the times, that the mother of the Tyrant-killer should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices* [*q*]: yet she had such a share in all the counsils of Brutus, that it made Cicero the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not trust: *When he is influenced so much*, says he, *by his mother's advice, or at least her entreaties, why should I interpose myself* [*r*]?

AT their desire however he went over to them at *Antium*, to assist at a select council of friends, called to deliberate on what was proper for them to do, with regard to this new commission. There were present among others, Favonius, Servilia, Portia, Brutus's *wife, and his Sister* Tertulla, the wife of Cassius: Brutus was much pleased at his coming, and after the first compliments, begged him to deliver his opinion

[*p*] Ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Serviliam, — cui Sexagies H. S. margaritam mercatus est, &c. Suet. J. Cæs. 50.

[*q*] Quin etiam hoc ipso tempore multa [illegible]: Pontii Neapolitanum a matre Tyranni doni posideri. Ad Att. 14. 21.

[*r*] Matris consilio cum utatur, vel etiam precibus, quid me interponam? Ad Att. 15. 1.

opinion to the company on the subject of their meeting. Upon which he presently advised, what he had been considering on the road, "that Brutus should go to *Asia*, and undertake the affair of the corn; that the onely "thing to be done at present was to provide "for their safety; that their safety was a certain benefit to the Republic——here Cassius interrupted him, and, with great fierceness in his looks, protested, that he would "not go to *Sicily*, nor accept as a favour, what "was intended as an affront; but would go to "*Achaia*——Brutus said, that he would go "to *Rome*, if Cicero thought it proper for "him——but Cicero declared it impossible "for him to be safe there——but supposing, says he, that I could be safe: why "then, says Cicero, I should advise it by all "means, as the best thing, which you could "do, and better than any Province——after "much discourse and complaining for the loss "of their opportunities, for which Cassius laid "all the blame on D. Brutus, Cicero said, "that though that was true, yet it was in vain "to talk of what was past; and as the case "then stood, he saw nothing left, but to follow his advice——to which they all at last "seemed to agree, especially, when Servilia "undertook by her mediation, to get the affair "of the corn left out of their commission: and "Brutus consented, that the Plays and Shews, "with which he was to entertain the City shortly as Prætor, should be given by proxy in "his absence——Cicero took his leave, "pleased with nothing in the conference, but "the consciousness of having done his duty: "for as to the rest, he gave all, he says, for "lost;

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" loſt; found the veſſel, not onely broken,
" but ſhatered to pieces; and neither prudence,
" reaſon, or deſign in what they were doing:
" ſo that if he had any doubt before, he had
" none now, but longed to get abroad as ſoon
" as poſſible——[s]."

OCTAVIUS, upon his coming to *Rome*, was very roughly received by Antony; who deſpiſing his age and want of experience, was ſo far from treating him as Cæſar's *heir*, or giving him poſſeſſion of his eſtate, that he openly threatned and thwarted him in all his pretenſions, nor would ſuffer him to *be choſen Tribun*, to which he aſpired, with the ſeeming favour of the people, in the room of that Cinna, who was killed at Cæſar's funeral [t]. This neceſſarily drew the regard of the Republican party towards him; and Cicero began to take the more notice of him in proportion, as Antony grew more and more formidable: at preſent, he gives the following account of him. " Octavi-
" anus, I perceive, has parts and ſpirit, and
" ſeems to be affected, as we could wiſh, to-
" wards our Heroes: but how far we may truſt
" his age, name, ſucceſſion, education, is a
" matter of great deliberation: his Father in
" law, who came to ſee me at *Aſtura*, thinks
" not at all. He muſt be cheriſhed however,
" if for nothing elſe, yet to keep him at a di-
" ſtance from Antony. Marcellus acts nobly,
" if he inſtills into him a good diſpoſition to-
" wards our friends: he ſeemed to be much in-
" fluenced

[s] Ad Att. 15. 11, 12.

[t] In locum Tribuni pl. ſorte demortui candidatum petitorem ſe oſtendit—ſed adverſante conatibus ſuis M. Antonio Conſule — Sueton. Auguſt. x. Dio. 272. App. 506.

" fluenced by him, but to have no confidence " in Panſa and Hirtius: his natural diſpoſition " is good, if it does but hold [*u*]." A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

IN the midſt of theſe affairs, with which his mind, as he complains, was much diſtracted, he purſued his literary ſtudies with his uſual ardor; and to avoid *the great reſort of company*, which interrupted him, *at his houſe near* Baiæ, he removed to his *Pompeian Villa*, on the ſouth ſide of *Naples*. Here he began *his book of offices*, for the uſe and inſtruction of his ſon, *deſigned*, he ſays, *to be the fruit of this excurſion:* he compoſed alſo *an Oration*, adapted to the ſtate of the times, and ſent it to Atticus, *to be ſuppreſſed or publiſhed at his diſcretion*; promiſing him withal to finiſh and ſend him in a ſhort time *his ſecret Hiſtory or Anecdote, in the manner of Heraclides*, to be kept cloſe in his Cabinet [*x*].

BEFORE he could leave *Italy*, he was obliged to return to *Tuſculum*, to ſettle his private affairs, and provide his equipage; and wrote to Dolabella, to give orders *for the mules and other neceſſaries*, which the government uſed to furniſh to thoſe who went abroad with a public character [*y*]. Here Atticus and he took leave of each other, with all poſſible marks of the moſt ſincere and tender affection. The unſettled con-

[*u*] Ad Att. 15. 12.

[*x*] Nos hic φιλοσοφέμενα (quid enim aliud)? & τὰ περὶ τὸ καθήκον magnifice explicamus, προσφωνῆμενque Ciceroni; qua de re enim potius pater filio? Deinde alia. Quid quæres? Extabit opera peregrinationis hujus.—Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quod hoc loco quidquam pulchrius, ſed interpellatores illic minus moleſti—

Orationem tibi miſi. Ejus cuſtodiendæ & proferendæ arbitrium tuum—jam probo Ἡρακλείδιον, præſertim cum tu tantopere delectere—enitar igitur—Ad Att. 15. 13. it. 14.

[*y*] Ib. 18.

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dition of the times, and the uncertainty when, or in what circumſtances they ſhould meet again, raiſed ſeveral melancholy reflections in them both, which, as ſoon as they parted, *drew many tears from Atticus*, of which he gave Cicero an account in his next letter, with a promiſe to follow him into *Greece:* Cicero anſwered him with equal tenderneſs; "it moved me, ſays he, "to hear of the tears which you ſhed after you "left me: had you done it in my preſence, I "ſhould have dropt perhaps all thoughts of my "journey. That part however pleaſes me, "where you comfort yourſelf with the hopes "of our meeting again ſhortly: which expe- "ctation indeed is what chiefly ſupports me: "I will write to you perpetually; give you an "account of every thing which relates to Bru- "tus; ſend you very ſhortly *my Treatiſe on* "*Glory*; and finiſh for you the other work, to "be lock'd up with your treaſure, *&c.* [z]"

THESE

[z] Te, ut a me diſceſſeras, lacrymaſſe, moleſte ferebam. Quod ſi me præſente feciſſes, conſilium totius itineris fortaſſe mutaſſem. Sed illud præclare, quod te conſolata eſt ſpes brevi tempore congrediendi: quæ quidem exſpectatio me maxime ſuſtentat. Meæ tibi litteræ non deerunt. De Bruto ſcribam ad te omnia. Librum tibi celeriter mittam de *gloria*. Excudam aliquid Ἡρακλείδιον, quod lateat in theſauris tuis. Ib. 27.

N. B. the Treatiſe here mentioned *on Glory*, which he ſent ſoon after to Atticus, and publiſhed in two books, was actually preſerved, and ſubſiſting, long after the invention of printing, yet happened to periſh unhappily for want of being produced into public light, by the help of that admirable art—*Raimundus Superantius* made a preſent of it to *Petrarch*, who, as he tells the ſtory in one of his epiſtles, lent it to his Schoolmaſter, who, being old and poor, pawned it for the relief of his neceſſities into ſome unknown hand, whence *Petrarch* could never recover it, upon the old man's death. About two centuries

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THESE little paſſages from familiar Letters, illuſtrate more effectually the real characters of men, than any of their more ſpecious and public acts. It is commonly thought the part of a ſtateſman, to diveſt himſelf of every thing natural, and baniſh every paſſion that does not ſerve his intereſt or ambition: but here we ſee a quite different character, one of the greateſt ſtateſmen of the world cheriſhing and cultivating in himſelf the ſoft and ſocial affections of love and friendſhip; as knowing them to be deſigned equally by nature for the comfort as well of public as private life.

ATTICUS likewiſe, whoſe philoſophy was as incompatible as ambition with all affections that did not terminate in himſelf, was frequently drawn by the goodneſs of his nature to correct the viciouſneſs of his principle. He had often reproved Cicero for an exceſs of love to his daughter Tullia, yet he no ſooner got a little *Attica* of his own, than he began to diſcover the ſame fondneſs; which gave Cicero occaſion to repay his raillery with great politeneſs. "I re-

centuries after, it appeared to have been in the poſſeſſion of *Bernardus Juſtinianus*, and was mentioned in the Catalogue of his books; which he bequeathed to a Monaſtery of Nuns; but when it could not be found in that monaſtery after the ſtricteſt ſearch, it was generally believed, that Petrus Alcyonius, who was Phyſician to that Houſe, and had the free uſe of the library, had ſtolen it; and after tranſcribing as much of it as he could, into his own writings, had deſtroyed the original for fear of a diſcovery; it being obſerved by the Critics, that in his book *de Exilio*, there were many bright paſſages, not well connected with the reſt of the work, which ſeemed to be above his taſt and genius. Vid. Petrarch. Epiſt. l. 15. 1. Rer. Senilium. Paull. Manut. Not. Ad Att. 15. 27. Bayle Dict. in Alcionius. Menagiana. Vol. IV. p. 86.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" joice, ſays he, to perceive that you take ſo " much delight in your little girl. I love her " already myſelf, and know her to be amiable, " tho' I have never ſeen her. Adieu then to " *Patro*, and all your Epicurean School." In another Letter; " I am mightily pleaſed with " the fondneſs that you expreſs for your little " daughter; and to ſee you feel at laſt, that " the love of our children does not flow from " habit or faſhion, but from nature: for if that " be not ſo, there can be no natural conjunction " between one man and another, without which " all ſociety muſt neceſſarily be diſſolved [*a*]."

THERE was now great expectation of the *ſhews and plays* which Brutus, as Prætor of the City, was going to exhibit, according to annual cuſtom, in honor of Apollo, *on the third of* July; and all people were attentive and impatient to ſee in what manner they would be received. Brutus wrote to Cicero, to beg, *that he would grace them with his preſence:* but Cicero thought the requeſt abſurd, nor at all agreeable to Brutus's uſual prudence. His anſwer was, " that he was got too far upon his journey to " have it now in his power; and that it would " be very improper for him, who had not been " in *Rome* ſince it was filled with ſoldiers, not " ſo much out of regard to his danger, as his " dignity, to run thither on a ſudden to ſee " plays: that in ſuch times as theſe, though it " was reputable for thoſe to give plays, whoſe " office required it, yet for his ſeeing them, as " it

[*a*] Filiolam tibi jam Romæ jucundam eſſe gaudeo; eamque, quam nunquam vidi, tamen & amo, & amabilem eſſe certo ſcio. Etiam atque etiam valete Patron & tui cordiſcipuli. Ad Att. 5. 19.—it. 7. 20.

" it was not neceſſary, ſo neither would it be " thought decent——[*b*]." He was heartily ſollicitous however, that they might meet with all imaginable encouragement, and charged Atticus to ſend him a particular account of what paſſed on each day from their firſt opening. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THE ſucceſs of them anſwered all their hopes, for they were received with an incredible applauſe by all ranks, though Antony's *brother Caius*, as the next Prætor in office, preſided at them: one of the plays was *Tereus*, a *Tragedy of Accius*; which having many ſtrokes in it on the characters and acts of Tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. Atticus performed his part to Cicero, and ſent him a punctual account of what paſſed every day; which he conſtantly communicated to Brutus, who was now in his neighbourhood; in *Neſis*, a little Iſle on the *Campanian* ſhore, the ſeat of *young Lucullus*—In his anſwer to Atticus, " your Letters, ſays " he, were very acceptable to Brutus: I ſpent " ſeveral hours with him, ſoon after I received " them; he ſeemed to be delighted with the " account of Tereus; and thought himſelf " more obliged to the Poet Accius, who made " it, than to the Prætor Antony, who preſi- " ded at it. But the more joy you ſend us of " this ſort, the more indignation it gives me,

[*b*] In quibus unum alienum ſumma ſua prudentia, id eſt illud, ut ſpectem ludos ſuos. Reſcripſi ſcilicet, primum me jam profectum, ut non integrum ſit. Dein ἀτοπώτατον eſſe, me, qui Romam omnino poſt hæc arma non acceſſerim, neque id tam periculi mei cauſa fecerim, quam dignitatis, ſubito ad ludos venire. Tali enim tempore ludos facere illi honeſtum eſt, cui neceſſe eſt: ſpectare mihi, ut non eſt neceſſe, ſic ne honeſtum quidem eſt. Equidem illos celebrari, & eſſe quam gratiſſimos mirabiliter cupio —Ad Att. 15. 26.

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"to ſee the *Roman* people employ their hands "in clapping plays, not in defending the Re- "public. This perhaps may provoke our ene- "mies to diſcover themſelves before they in- "tended it; yet if they be mortified, I care "not by what means [*c*]." In a ſpeech made afterwards to the Senate, he urges this judgment of the City, as a proper leſſon to Antony, to teach him the way to glory. *O happy Brutus*, ſays he, *who when driven from* Rome *by force of arms, reſided ſtill in the hearts and bowels of his Citizens, who made themſelves amends for the abſence of their deliverer, by their perpetual applauſes and acclamations* [*d*].

BUT there was one thing, which thro' the inadvertency of Brutus's managers, or the contrivance of the Prætor Antony, gave Brutus ſome uneaſineſs; that *in the Edict* for proclaming his ſhews, *the month, inſtead of* Quintilis, *was ſtiled* July, by it's new name, lately given to it in honor of Cæſar: for it raiſed great ſpeculation, and was thought ſtrange, that Brutus by Edict, ſhould acknowledge and confirm an act,

[*c*] Bruto tuæ litteræ gratæ erant. Fui enim apud illum multas horas in Neſide, cum paullo ante tuas litteras accepiſſem. Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur; & habere majorem Accio, quam Antonio, gratiam. Mihi autem quo lætiora ſunt, eo plus ſtomachi & moleſtiæ eſt, populum Romanum manus ſuas, non in defendenda Repub. ſed in plaudendo conſumere. Mihi quidem videntur, iſtorum animi incendi etiam ad repræſentandam improbitatem ſuam. Sed tamen dum modo doleant aliquid, doleant quodlibet. Ad Att. 16. 2.

[*d*] Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plauſus, vel teſtimonia potius, & judicia populi Romani parum magna videbantur? O beatos illos, qui cum adeſſe ipſis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen, & in medullis populi Romani ac viſceribus hærebant! niſi forte Accio tum plaudi—& non Bruto putabatis, &c. Phil. 1. 15.

act, contrived to perpetuate the honor of Tyranny. This little circumſtance greatly diſturbed him, imagining, that it would be reflected upon as a mean condeſcenſion; and ſince it could not be remedied as to the plays, he reſolved to correct it for the reſt of the ſhews; and gave immediate orders, *that the huntings of the wild beaſts, which were to follow, ſhould be proclamed for the thirteenth of* Quintilis [*e*]. A. Urb 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

WHILE Cicero continued in theſe parts, he ſpent the greateſt ſhare of his time with Brutus; and as they were one day together, L. Libo came to them, with Letters juſt received from young S. Pompey, his ſon in law, with propoſals of an accommodation, addreſſed to the Conſuls, on which he deſired their opinion. Cicero thought them drawn with great gravity and propriety of expreſſion, excepting a few inaccuracies, and adviſed only to change the addreſs; *and inſtead of the Conſuls, to whom alone they were directed, to add the other Magiſtrates, with the Senate and people of* Rome, *leſt the Conſuls ſhould ſuppreſs them, as belonging only to themſelves.* Theſe Letters brought in ſubſtance, "that Pompey was now maſter of ſeven Legions; that "as he had juſt ſtormed a Town called *Borea*, "he receiv'd the news of Cæſar's death; which "cauſed a wonderful joy, and change of affairs "thro' the province of *Spain*, and a concourſe "of people to him from all parts. The ſum "of his demands was, that all who had the command of armies ſhould diſmiſs them; but to

[*e*] Quam ille doluit de Nonis Juliis! mirifice eſt conturbatus. Itaque ſeſe ſcripturum aiebat, ut venationem etiam, quæ poſtridie ludos Apollinares fu'pra eſt, proſcriberent, III Id. Quintil. —Ad Att. 16. 4.

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" Libo he ſignified, that unleſs his Father's " Eſtate and Houſe at *Rome*, which Antony " now poſſeſſed, were reſtored to him, he would " agree to nothing [*f*]."

THIS overture from Pompey was procured chiefly by the management of Lepidus [*g*]: who having the Province of *Spain* aſſigned to him, where Pompey was very ſtrong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at ſuch a diſtance from *Rome*, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in *Italy:* for which purpoſe, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty on honorable terms to Pompey, and " that, on condi- " tion of laying down his arms, and quitting " the Province, he ſhould be reſtored to all his " eſtates and honors, and have the command " of the whole naval power of *Rome*, in the " ſame manner as his Father had it before him: " all which was propoſed and recommended to " the Senate by Antony himſelf [*h*]." Where to preſerve a due reſpect to Cæſar's *Acts*, by which Pompey's eſtates had been confiſcated, it was decreed, *that the ſame ſum, for which they had been ſold, ſhould be given to him by the public, to enable him to purchaſe them again:* This amounted to above *five millions and a half of our money, excluſive of his Jewels, Plate, and furniture; which being wholly embezzled, he was content to loſe* [*i*]. On theſe terms, ratified by the authority

[*f*] Ibid.

[*g*] Philip. 5. 13, 14, &c. it. Phil. 13. 4, 5, &c.

[*h*] App. p. 528. Dio l. 45. 275.

[*i*] Salvis enim actis Cæſaris, quæ concordiæ cauſa defendimus, Pompeio ſua domus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam Antonius emit, redimet——decreviſtis tantam pecuniam Pompeio, quantum ex bonis patriis in prædæ diſſipatione inimicus victor

authority of the Senate, Pompey *actually quitted* Spain, *and came to* Marſeilles. The project was wiſely concerted by Lepidus and Antony; for while it carried a ſhew of moderation, and diſpoſition to peace, it diſarmed a deſperate enemy, who was in condition to give a great obſtruction to their deſigns, and diverſion to their arms, at a time when the neceſſity of their intereſts required their preſence, and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power in the heart and center of the Empire. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THERE happened an incident at this time of a domeſtic kind, which gave ſome pleaſure both to Cicero and Atticus; the unexpected converſion of their Nephew Quintus. He had long ago deſerted his Father and Uncle, and attached himſelf wholly to Cæſar, who ſupplied him liberally with money: On Cæſar's death he adhered ſtill to the ſame cauſe, and was in the utmoſt confidence with Antony; and, as Atticus calls him, *his right hand* [*k*]; or the miniſter of all his projects in the City; but upon ſome late diſguſt, he began to make overtures to his friends, of coming over to Brutus, pretending to have conceived an abhorrence of Antony's deſigns; and ſignifying to his Father, *that Antony would have engaged him to ſeize ſome ſtrong poſt in the City, and declare him Dictator, and upon his refuſal, was become his enemy* [*l*]. The

victor redegiſſet — nam argentum, veſtrem, ſupellectilem, vinum amittet æquo animo, quæ ille helluo diſſipavit—atque illud ſepties millies, quod adoleſcenti, Patres conſcripti, ſpopondiſtis, ita deſcribetur, ut videatur a vobis Cn. Pompeii filius in patrimonio ſuo collocatus. Philip. 13. 5.

[*k*] Quintus filius, ut ſcribis, Antonii eſt dextella. Ad Att. 14. 20.

[*l*] Quintus pater exultat lætitia. Scripſit enim filius, ſe

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The Father, overjoyed at this change, carried his ſon to Cicero, to perſuade him of his ſincerity, and to beg his interceſſion alſo with Atticus, to be reconciled to him: but Cicero, who knew the fickleneſs and perfidy of the youth, gave little credit to him; taking the whole for a contrivance onely to draw money from them; yet in compliance with their requeſt, he wrote what they deſired to Atticus; but ſent him another Letter at the ſame time with is real thoughts on the matter.

"OUR Nephew Quintus, ſays he, promi-
"ſes to be a very Cato. Both his Father and
"he having been preſſing me, that I would un-
"dertake for him to you; yet ſo, that you
"ſhould not believe him, till you yourſelf had
"ſeen the effects of it. I ſhall give him there-
"fore ſuch a Letter to you as he would have;
"but let it not move you, for I have written
"this, leſt you ſhould imagine that I am mo-
"ved myſelf. The Gods grant that he may
"perform what he promiſes; for it will be a
"common joy to us all. I will ſay nothing
"more of it at preſent, *&c.* [*m*]"

BUT young Quintus got the better at laſt of all Cicero's ſuſpicions; and after ſpending ſeveral

ſe idcirco profugere ad Brutum voluiſſe, quod cum ſibi negotium daret Antonius, ut eum Dictatorem efficeret, præſidium occuparet, id recuſaſſet; recuſaſſe autem ſe, ne patris animum offenderit; ex eo ſibi illum hoſtem.—Ad Att. 15. 21.

[*m*] Quintus filius mihi pollicetur ſe Catonem. Egit autem & Pater & Filius, ut tibi ſponderem: ſed ita, ut tum crederes, cum ipſe cognoſces. Huic ego litteras ipſius arbitratu dabo. Eæ ne te moverint; has ſcripſi in eam partem, ne me motum putares. Dii faxint, ut faciat ea, quæ promittit. Commune enim gaudium. Sed ego nihil dico amplius. Ad Att. 16. 1.

veral days with him, convinced him by his whole behaviour and converſation, that he was in earneſt: ſo that he not onely recommended him very affectionately to Atticus, but preſented him alſo to Brutus, to make the offer of his ſervice to him in perſon: "If he had not wholly perſuaded me, ſays he, that what I am "ſaying of him is certainly true, I ſhould not "have done what I am going to tell you: for "I carried the youth with me to Brutus, who "was ſo well ſatisfied with him, that he gave "him full credit, without ſuffering me to be "his ſponſor: in commending him, he mentioned you in the kindeſt manner, and at "parting, embraced and kiſſed him. Wherefore, tho' there is reaſon rather to congratulate, than to entreat you, yet I beg, that "whatever he may have done hitherto, thro' "the weakneſs of age, with more levity than "became him, you would believe it all to be "now over, *&c.* [*n*]" A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

QUINTUS kept his word with them; and to give proof of his zeal and ſincerity, was ſo hardy, before the end of the year, as to undertake *to accuſe Antony to the people, for plundering the Temple of* Opis [*o*]. But this accident of changing his party, which gave ſo much joy at preſent to the whole family, tho' owing rather to

[*n*] Quod niſi fidem mihi feciſſet, judicaſſemque hoc quod dico firmum fore, non feciſſem id, quod dicturus ſum. Duxi enim mecum adoleſcentem ad Brutum: ſic ei probatum eſt, quod ad te ſcribo, ut ipſe crediderit, me ſponſorem accipere noluerit. Eumque laudans amiciſſime tui mentionem fecerit. Complexus, oſculatuſque dimiſerit. Ad Att. 16. 5.

[*o*] Quintus ſcribit, ſe ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna geſſimus, Ædem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum. Ibid. 14.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

to a giddineſs of temper, than any good principle, proved fatal not long after both to the young man and his Father; as it ſeems to have been the moſt probable cauſe of their being proſcribed and murthered the year following, by Antony's order, together with Cicero himſelf.

CICERO was now ready for his voyage; and had provided *three little Yatchs or Galleys* to tranſport himſelf and his attendants: but as there was a report of Legions arriving daily from abroad, and of Pirates alſo at ſea, he thought it would be ſafer to ſail in company with Brutus and Caſſius, who had drawn together a fleet of good force, which now lay upon the coaſt [*p*]. He gave *ſeveral hints of this deſign to* Brutus, who received it more coldly than he expected; he ſeemed uncertain and irreſolute about the time of his own going. He reſolved therefore to embark without farther delay, though in ſome perplexity to the laſt, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of it's being cenſured, as a deſertion of his country: but Atticus kept up his Spirits, by aſſuring him conſtantly in his Letters, *that all people approved it at* Rome, *provided that he kept his word, of returning by the firſt of the new year* [*q*.]

HE

[*p*] Legiones enim adventare dicuntur. Hæc autem navigatio habet quaſdam ſuſpiciones periculi. Itaque conſtituebam uti ὁμοπλοία. Paratiorem offendi Brutum, quam audiebam.—Nam Caſſii claſſem, quæ plane bella eſt, non numero ultra fretrum. Ib. 16. 4.

[*q*] Bruto cum ſæpe injeciſſem de ὁμοπλοία, non perinde atque ego putaram, arripere viſus eſt—[Ib. 5.] Conſilium meum quod ais quotidiis magis laudari, non moleſte fero; expectabamque, ſi quid ad me ſcriberes. Ego enim in varios ſermones incidebam. Quin etiam idcirco trahebam, ut quam diutiſſime integrum eſſet. [ib. 2. it. Ep. fam. xi. 29.] Scribis enim in cœlum ferri profectionem

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He sailed slowly along the coast towards *Rhegium*, going ashore every night to lodge with some Friend or Client: he spent one day at *Velia*, the native place of Trebatius; whence he wrote a kind Letter to him, dated *the nineteenth of* July; advising him by no means *to sell that family estate*, as he then designed, *situated so healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people who intirely loved him* [r]. At this place he began his *Treatise of Topics*, or the art of finding arguments on any question: it was an abstract of Aristotle's *piece* on the same subject; which Trebatius happening once to meet with in Cicero's *Tusculan Library*, had begged of him to explain. But Cicero never found leisure for it till this voyage, in which he was reminded of the task *by the sight of* Velia; and though he had neither Aristotle, nor any other book to help him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed, before he came to *Rhegium*; whence he sent it to Trebatius, with a Letter dated *the twenty seventh*. He excuses *the obscurity of it*, from the nature of the argument, requiring great attention to understand, and great application to reduce it to practice: in which however he promises to assist him, *if he lived to return, and found the Republic subsisting* [s].

In

onem meam, sed ita, si ante Kal. Jan. redeam. Quod quidem certe enitar. [ib. 6.] Ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Jan. quod initium cogendi Senatus fore videbatur. Philip. 1. 2.

[r] Ep. fam. 7. 20.

[s] Itaque ut primum Velia navigare cœpi, instituti Topica Aristotelea conscribere, ab ipsa urbe commonitus, amantissima tui. Eum librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam plenissime illa res scribi potuit, &c. Ep. fam. 7. 19.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

IN the ſame voyage, happening to be looking over his Treatiſe *on the Academic Philoſophy*, he obſerved *the Preface of the third book* to be the ſame that he had prefixed to *his book on Glory*, which he had lately ſent to Atticus. *It was his cuſtom*, it ſeems, *to prepare at leiſure a number of different proems, adapted to the general view of his ſtudies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he ſhould afterwards publiſh*; ſo that by miſtake he had uſed this preface *twice*, without remembering it: he compoſed a new one therefore on ſhip-board, for *the piece on Glory*; and ſent it to Atticus, with orders, *to bind it up with his copy in the place of the former preface* [*t*]. So wonderful was his induſtry and love

[*t*] Nunc negligentiam meam cognoſce. De Gloria librum ad te miſi, at in eo procœmium id eſt, quod in Academico tertio. Id evenit ob eam rem, quod habeo volumen procœmiorum: ex eo eligere ſoleo, cum aliquod ἐγγραμμα inſtitui. Itaque jam in Tuſculano, qui non meminiſſem me abuſum iſto procœmio, conjeci id in eum librum, quem tibi miſi. Cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum, itaque ſtatim novum procœmium exaravi; tibi miſi —Ad Att. 16. 6.

N. B. A Collection of *Prefaces* prepared beforehand, and calculated indifferently for any treatiſe, will be thought perhaps a ſtrange and fantaſtical way of compoſing: but tho' they had no neceſſary connection with the ſubject of any particular work, they were yet adapted to the general view of his writings, and contrived ſeverally to ſerve the different ends, which he propoſed by the publication of them. Thus in ſome he takes occaſion to celebrate the praiſes of his principal friends, to whom they were addreſſed; in others, to enter into a general defence of Philoſophy, in anſwer to thoſe who cenſured him for ſpending ſo much time upon it: in ſome, he repreſents the miſerable ſtate of the times, and ſubverſion of the Republic, in a manner proper to alarm his Citizens, and rouſe them to aſſert their ancient liberty: in others, he contrives to give a beautiful deſcription of ſome of his *Villas or gardens*, where the ſcene of the dialogue was laid: all which the reader will find very agreeably

love of letters, that neither the inconvenience of sailing, which he always hated, nor the busy thoughts which must needs intrude upon him, on leaving *Italy* in such a conjuncture, could disturb the calm and regular pursuit of his studies. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

FROM *Rhegium*, or rather *Leucopetra*, a promontory close by it, he passed over to *Syracuse on the first of* August: where he staid but one night, though in a City particularly devoted to him, and under his special protection: but he was unwilling to give umbrage or suspicion to those at *Rome*, *of having any views abroad, which concerned the public* [*u*]: he set sail therefore again the next morning towards *Greece*; but was driven back by contrary winds to *Leucopetra*; and after a second attempt with no better success, was forced to repose himself *in the Villa of his friend* Valerius, and wait for the opportunity of a fair wind [*x*].

HERE the principal inhabitants of the country came to pay him their compliments; some of them fresh from *Rome*, who brought great news of an unexpected turn of affairs there towards

bly executed in the Prefaces of his Philosophical pieces; which are yet connected so artfully with the treatises that follow them, and lead us so naturally into the argument, as if they had been originally contrived for the sake of introducing it. Vid. Tusc. Disp.—Init. de Div. 2. 1. de Fin. 1. 1. de Legib. 2. 1.

[*u*] Kalendis sextil. veni Syracusas — quæ tamen urbs mihi conjunctissima, plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum, ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret, si essem commoratus. Phil. 1. 3.

[*x*] Cum me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detulissent; ab eo loco consendi, ut transmitterem; nec ita multum provectus, rejectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum—[Ib.] ibi cum vectum expectarem: erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter essem, & libenter —Ad Att. 16. 7.

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wards a general pacification; "That Antony "ſeemed diſpoſed to liſten to reaſon, to deſiſt "from his pretenſions to *Gaul*; ſubmit to the "authority of the Senate; and make up mat- "ters with Brutus and Caſſius; who had writ- "ten circular Letters to all the principal Sena- "tors, to beg their attendance in the Senate on "the firſt of *September*; and that Cicero's ab- "ſence was particularly regretted, and even "blamed at ſuch a criſis [*y*]." This agreeable account of things made him preſently drop all thoughts of purſuing his voyage; in which he was confirmed likewiſe by Letters from Atticus, who, contrary to his former advice, preſſed him now in ſtrong and pathetic terms, *to come back again to* Rome.

HE returned therefore by the ſame courſe, which he had before taken, and came back to *Velia* on the *ſeventeenth of* Auguſt: Brutus lay within three miles of it with his fleet, and hearing of his arrival, *came immediately on foot to ſalute him:* "he declared himſelf exceedingly "pleaſed with Cicero's return; owned, that "he had never approved, though he had not "diſſuaded the voyage; thinking it indecent, "to give advice to a man of his experience; "but now told him plainly, that he had eſca- "ped two great imputations on his character; "the one, of too haſty a deſpair and deſertion "of the common cauſe; the other, of the va-

"nity

[*y*] Rhegini quidam, illuſtres homines eo venerunt, Roma fane recentes—hæc afferebant, Edictum Bruti & Caſſii; & fore frequentem Senatum Kal. a Bruto & Caſſio litteras miſſas ad Conſulares & Prætorios; ut adeſſent, rogare. Summam ſpem nunciabant, fore, ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, noſtri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam me deſiderari, ſub-accuſari, &c. — Ad Att. ibid.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" nity of going to see the *Olympic games*. This " last, as Cicero says, would have been shame- " ful for him, in any state of the Republic, but " in the present, unpardonable; and professes " himself therefore greatly obliged to the winds " for preserving him from such an infamy, and " like good Citizens, blowing him back to the " service of his country [z]."

BRUTUS informed him likewise of what had passed in the senate, on *the first of* August; and how Piso had signalized himself by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in favour of the public liberty, *in which no body had the courage to second him:* he produced also *Antony's Edict, and their answer to it, which pleased Cicero very much:* but on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he found no such reason for it, as his first intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at *Rome*; where there was not *one Senator, who had the courage to support Piso, nor Piso himself the resolution to appear in the Senate again the next day* [a].

THIS was the last conference, that he ever had with Brutus; who together with Cassius left *Italy* soon after it: they were both to succede of course, as all Prætors did at the expiration of their office, to the government of some Province, which was assigned to them either by

[z] Nam. xvi Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audivit, erat enim cum suis navibus apud Heletem fluvium citra Veliam millia passum III. pedibus ad me statim. Dii immortales, quam valde ille reditu, vel potius reversione mea lætatus est? Effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat—se autem lætari quod effugissem duas maximas vituperationes, &c.—Ad Att. 16. 7. Vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 25. it. ad Brut. 15.

[a] Vid. Ad Att. ibid. Phil. 1. 4, 5. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

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lot, or by an extraordinary decree of the ſenate. Cæſar had intended *Macedonia* for the one, and *Syria* for the other; but as theſe were two of the moſt important commands of the Empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time, when their enemies were taking meaſures to deſtroy them, ſo Antony contrived to get two other Provinces decreed to them of an inferior kind, *Crete* to Brutus, and *Cyrene* to Caſſius; and by a law of the people, procured *Macedonia* and *Syria* to be conferred upon himſelf, and his Collegue Dolabella; in conſequence of which, he ſent his Brother Caius in all haſt to poſſeſs himſelf of the firſt, and Dolabella to ſecure the ſecond, before their rivals could be in condition to ſeize them by force, of which they were much afraid: taking it for granted, that this was the project, which Brutus and Caſſius were now meditating. Caſſius had acquired a great reputation in the Eaſt, by his conduct in the *Parthian* war, and Brutus was highly honored in *Greece*, for his eminent virtue and love of Philoſophy: they reſolved therefore to ſlight the petty Provinces, which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerful ones, that Cæſar had promiſed them; and with that view had provided the fleets above mentioned, to tranſport themſelves to thoſe countries, which they had deſtined for the ſcene of Action; Brutus, to *Macedonia*, Caſſius, to *Syria*; where we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to give a farther account of their ſucceſs [*b*].

CICERO in the mean while purſued his journey towards *Rome*, where he arrived on the laſt of the month: on his approach to the City,

[*b*] Plutar. in Brut. App. 527, 533. Phil. 2. 13, 38.

City, such multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the whole day was spent in receiving *the compliments and congratulations of his friends*, as he passed along to his House [*c*]. The Senate met the next morning, to which he was particularly summoned by Antony, but excused himself by a civil message, *as being too much indisposed by the fatigue of his journey*. Antony took this as an affront, and in great rage threatened openly in the Senate, *to order his house to be pulled down, if he did not come immediately*; *till by the interposition of the assembly he was dissuaded from using any violence* [*d*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THE business of the day was, to decree some new and extraordinary honors to the memory of Cæsar, *with a religious supplication to him, as to a Divinity:* Cicero was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an opposition would not only be fruitless, but dangerous; and for that reason staid away. Antony, on the other hand, was desirous to have him there, fancying, that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which would lessen him with his own party, or by opposing what was intended, make himself odious to the soldiery; but as he was absent, the decree passed without any contradiction.

THE Senate met again the next day, when Antony thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to Cicero [*e*]; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches, which, in imitation of Demosthenes, were called

[*c*] Plutar. in Cicer.

[*d*] Cumque de via languerem, mihique displicirem, misi pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret, at ille, vobis audientibus, cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit, &c. Phil. 1. 5.

[*e*] Veni postridie, ipse non venit. Phil. 5. 7.

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led afterwards *his Philippics*—he opens it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage, and ſudden return; of his interview with Brutus, and his regret at leaving him: "At *Velia*, ſays he, I ſaw Brutus: with what "grief I ſaw him I need not tell you: I could "not but think it ſcandalous for me, to return "to a City from which he was forced to retire, "and to find myſelf ſafe in any place, where he "could not be ſo: yet Brutus was not half ſo "much moved with it, as I, but ſupported by "the conſciouſneſs of his noble act, ſhewed not "the leaſt concern for his own caſe, while he "expreſſed the greateſt for yours."—He then declares, "that he came to ſecond Piſo; and "in caſe of any accidents, of which many "ſeemed to ſurround him, to leave that day's "ſpeech as a monument of his perpetual fide-"lity to his country [*f*]. Before he enters "upon the ſtate of the Republic, he takes oc-"caſion to complain of the unprecedented vio-"lence of Antony's treatment of him the day "before, who would not have been better "pleaſed with him, had he been preſent, for "he ſhould never have conſented to pollute the "Republic with ſo deteſtable a religion, and "blend the honors of the Gods with thoſe "of a dead man: he prays the Gods to forgive "both the Senate and the People for their for-"ced conſent to it—that he would never have "decreed it, though it had been to old Brutus "himſelf, who firſt delivered *Rome* from Re-"gal Tyranny, and, at the diſtance of five cen-"turies, had propagated a race from the ſame "ſtock, to do their country the ſame ſer-"vice.

[*f*] Philip. 1. 4.

" vice [*g*]. He returns thanks to Piſo, for A. Urb. 709.
" what he had ſaid in that place the month be- Cic. 63.
" fore; wiſhes, that he had been preſent to ſe- Coſſ.
" cond him; and reproves the other Conſulars, M. ANTONI-
" for betraying their dignity by deſerting him. US. P. COR-
" —As to the publick affairs, he dwells chiefly NELIUS DO-
" on Antony's abuſe of their decree, to con- LABELLA.
" firm Cæſar's acts; declares himſelf ſtill for
" the confirmation of them, not that he liked
" them, but for the ſake of peace; yet of the
" genuin acts only, ſuch as Cæſar himſelf had
" compleated; not the imperfect notes and me-
" morandums of his pocket books; not every
" ſcrap of his writing; or what he had not
" even written, but ſpoken only, and that,
" without a voucher—he charges Antony with
" a ſtrange inconſiſtency, in pretending ſuch a
" zeal for Cæſar's *acts*, yet violating the moſt
" ſolemn and authentic of them, *his laws*; of
" which he gives ſeveral examples: thinks it
" intolerable, to oblige them to the perform-
" ance of all Cæſar's promiſes, yet annull ſo
" freely what ought to be held the moſt ſacred
" and inviolable of any thing that he had
" done:" he addreſſes himſelf pathetically to
both the Conſuls, though Dolabella only was
preſent; tells them, " that they had no reaſon
" to reſent his ſpeaking ſo freely on the be-
" half of the Republic: that he made no per-
" ſonal reflections; had not touched their cha-
" racters, their lives, and manners: that if he
" offended in that way, he deſired no quar-
" ter [*b*]: but if, according to his cuſtom, he
" delivered himſelf with all freedom on public
" affairs, he begged in the firſt place, that they
" would not be angry; in the next, that if

[*g*] Ibid. 5, 6. [*b*] Ibid. 7, 11.

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" they were, they would expreſs their anger,
" as became Citizens, by civil, not military
" methods: that he had been admoniſhed in-
" deed, not to expect, that the ſame liberty
" would be allowed to him, the enemy of Cæ-
" ſar, which had been indulged to Piſo, his
" Father in law; that Antony would reſent
" whatever was ſaid againſt his will, though
" free from perſonal injury: if ſo, he muſt
" bear it, as well as he could—then after
" touching on the plundering the Temple of
" *Opis*, of thoſe ſums, which might have been
" of great ſervice to the ſtate, he obſerves,
" that whatever the vulgar might think, mo-
" ney was not the thing, which they aimed at;
" that their ſouls were too noble for that, and
" had greater deſigns in view [*i*]: but they
" quite miſtook the road to glory, if they
" thought it to conſiſt in a ſingle man's having
" more power, than a whole people—that to
" be dear to our Citizens, to deſerve well of
" our Country, to be praiſed, reſpected, be-
" loved, was truly glorious; to be feared and
" hated, always invidious, deteſtable, weak
" and tottering—that Cæſar's fate was a warn-
" ing to them, how much better it was to be
" loved, than to be feared: that no man could
" live happy, who held life on ſuch terms,
" that it might be taken from him, not only
" with impunity, but with praiſe [*k*]. He puts
" them in mind of the many public demon-
" ſtrations of the people's diſaffection to them,
" and their conſtant applauſes and acclamations
" to thoſe, who oppoſed them, to which he
" begs them to attend with more care, in or-
" der

[*i*] Ibid. 12. [*k*] Ibid. 14.

" der to learn the way how to be truly great and " glorious.—He concludes by declaring, that " he had now reaped the full fruit of his return, " by giving this public teſtimony of his conſtant " adherence to the intereſts of his country: that " he would uſe the ſame liberty oftener, if he " found that he could do it with ſafety; if not, " would reſerve himſelf, as well as he could, to " better times, not ſo much out of regard to " himſelf, as to the Republic."

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In ſpeaking afterwards of this day's debate, he ſays, " that whilſt the reſt of the Senate " behaved like ſlaves, he alone ſhewed him- " ſelf to be free; and though he ſpoke indeed " with leſs freedom, than it had been his " cuſtom to do, yet it was with more, than " the dangers, with which he was threatened, " ſeemed to allow [*l*]." Antony was greatly enraged at his ſpeech, and ſummoned another meeting of the Senate for the *nineteenth*, where he again required Cicero's attendance, being reſolved to anſwer him in perſon, and juſtify his own Conduct: for which end he employed himſelf during the interval in preparing the materials of a ſpeech, and declaiming againſt Cicero in his Villa near *Tibur*. The Senate met on the appointed day, *in the Temple of Concord*, whither Antony came with a ſtrong guard, and in great expectation of meeting Cicero, whom he had endeavoured by artifice to draw thither: but though Cicero himſelf was ready and deſirous to go, yet his friends over-ruled and kept him

[*l*] Locutus ſum de Repub. minus equidem libere, quam mea conſuetudo, liberius tamen quam periculi mihi poſtulabant. Philip. 5. 7. In ſumma reliquorum ſervitute liber unus fui. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

at home, *being apprehenſive of ſome deſign intended againſt his life* [*m*].

ANTONY's ſpeech confirmed their apprehenſions, in which he poured out the overflowings of his ſpleen with ſuch fury againſt him, that Cicero, alluding to what he had done a little before in public, ſays, *that he ſeemed once more rather to ſpew, than to ſpeak* [*n*]. He produced Cicero's *Letter to him, about the reſtoration of* S. Clodius, in which Cicero acknowledged him, not only *for his friend, but a good Citizen*; as if the Letter was a confutation of his ſpeech, and Cicero had other reaſons for quarrelling with him now, than the pretended ſervice of the public [*o*]. But the chief thing, with which he urged him, was, his being *not only privy to the murther of* Cæſar, *but the Contriver of it, as well as the author of every ſtep, which the Conſpirators had ſince taken:* by this he hoped to inflame the ſoldiers to ſome violence, whom he had planted for that purpoſe *about the avenues of the Temple, and within hearing even of their debates.* Cicero in his account of it to Caſſius, ſays, *that he ſhould not ſcruple to own a ſhare in the act, if he could have a ſhare in the glory: but that; if he had really been concerned in it, they ſhould never have left the work half finiſhed* [*p*].

HE

[*m*] Quo die, ſi per amicos mihi cupienti, in ſenatum venire licuiſſet, cædis initium feciſſet a me. Phil. 5. 7.

Meque cum elicere vellet in cædis cauſam, tum tentaret inſidiis. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

[*n*] Itaque omnibus eſt viſus, ut ad te antea ſcripſi, vomere ſuo more, non dicere. Ib. 2.

[*o*] Atque etiam litteras, quas me ſibi miſiſſe diceret, recitavit, &c. Phil. 2. 4.

[*p*] Nullam aliam ob cauſam me auctorem fuiſſe Cæſaris interficiendi criminatur, niſi ut in me veterani incitentur. Ep. fam. 12. 2, 3, 4.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

HE had resided all this while in *Rome*, or the neighbourhood; but as a breach with Antony was now inevitable, he thought it necessary for his security, to remove to a greater distance; to some of his Villas near *Naples*. Here he composed *his second Philippic*, by way of reply to Antony; not delivered in the Senate, as the tenor of it seems to imply, but finished in the country, nor intended to be published till things were actually come to extremity, and the occasions of the Republic made it necessary to render Antony's character and designs as odious as possible to the people. The oration is a most bitter invective on his whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, violence, rapine, heightened with all the colors of wit and eloquence——it was greatly admired by the antients, and shews, that in the decline of Life, Cicero had lost no share of that fire and spirit, with which his earlier productions are animated: but he never had a cause more interesting, or where he had greater reason to exert himself: he knew, that in case of a rupture, for which alone the piece was calculated, either Antony *or the Republic must perish*; and he was determined to risk his own life upon the quarrel, nor bear the indignity of out-living a second time the liberty of his country.

HE sent a copy of this speech to Brutus and Cassius, who were infinitely pleased with it: they now at last clearly saw, that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more desperate; and being resolved therefore to leave *Italy*, they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following Letter in common to Antony.

BRUTUS

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS Prætors to ANTONY Conſul.

" IF you are in good health, it is a pleaſure " to us. We have read your Letter, exactly " of a piece with your Edict, abuſive, threat- " ening, wholly unworthy to be ſent from you " to us. For our part, Antony, we have ne- " ver done you any injury; nor imagined, that " you would think it ſtrange, that Prætors and " men of our rank ſhould require any thing by " Edict of a Conſul: but if you are angry, " that we have preſumed to do it, give us " leave to be concerned, that you would not " indulge that privilege at leaſt to Brutus and " Caſſius: for as to our raiſing troops, exact- " ing contributions, ſolliciting armies, ſending " expreſſes beyond ſea; ſince you deny, that " you ever complained of it, we believe you; " and take it as a proof of your good inten- " tion: we do not indeed own any ſuch prac- " tices; yet think it ſtrange, when you ob- " jected nothing of that kind, that you could " not contain yourſelf, from reproaching us " with the death of Cæſar. Conſider with " yourſelf, whether it is to be endured, that " for the ſake of the public quiet and liberty, " Prætors cannot depart from their rights by " Edict, but the Conſul muſt preſently threat- " en them with arms. Do not think to frighten " us with ſuch threats: it is not agreeable to " our character to be moved by any danger: " nor muſt Antony pretend to command thoſe, " by whoſe means he now lives free. If there " were other reaſons to diſpoſe us to raiſe a ci- " vil war, your Letter would have no effect to " hinder it: for threats can have no influence

" on

" on thoſe, who are free. But you know very A. Urb. 709.
" well, that it is not poſſible for us, to be dri- Cic. 63.
" ven to any thing againſt our will; and for Coſſ.
" that reaſon perhaps you threaten, that what- M. ANTONI-
" ever we do, it may ſeem to be the effect of us. P. COR-
" fear. Theſe then are our ſentiments: we NELIUS DO-
" wiſh to ſee you live with honour and ſplendor LABELLA.
" in a free Republic; have no deſire to quar-
" rel with you; yet value our liberty, more
" than your friendſhip. It is your buſineſs to
" conſider again and again, what you attempt,
" and what you can maintain; and to reflect,
" not how long Cæſar lived, but how ſhort a
" time he reigned: we pray the Gods, that
" your councils may be ſalutary, both to the
" Republic and to yourſelf; if not, wiſh at
" leaſt, that they may hurt you as little, as
" may conſiſt with the ſafety and dignity of the
" Republic [*q*]."

OCTAVIUS perceived by this time, that there was nothing to be done for him in the City againſt a Conſul, armed with ſupreme power both civil and military; and was ſo far provoked by the ill uſage, which he had received, that, in order to obtain by ſtratagem what he could not gain by force, *he formed a deſign againſt Antony's life, and actually provided certain ſlaves to aſſaſſinate him, who were diſcovered and ſeized with their poignards in Antony's houſe*, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The ſtory was ſuppoſed by many *to be forged by Antony to juſtify his treatment of Octavius, and his depriving him of the eſtate of his uncle*; *but all men of ſenſe*, as Cicero ſays, *both believed and applauded it*; and the greateſt

[*q*] Ep. fam. xi. 3.

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greateſt part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact [*r*].

THEY were both of them equally ſuſpected by the Senate; but Antony more immediately dreaded on the account of his ſuperior power, and ſuppoſed credit with the ſoldiers, whom he had ſerved with through all the late wars, and on ſeveral occaſions commanded. Here his chief ſtrength lay; and to ingratiate himſelf the more with them, he began to declare himſelf more and more openly every day againſt the Conſpirators; threatening them in *his Edicts*, and diſcovering a reſolution to revenge the death of Cæſar; to whom he erected *a ſtatue in the Roſtra*, and inſcribed it, *to the moſt worthy parent of his Country*. Cicero ſpeaking of this in a Letter to Caſſius, ſays, "Your friend Antony grows every day more furious, as you ſee from the inſcription of his ſtatue; by which he makes you, not onely murtherers, but Parricides. But why do I ſay you, and not rather us? for the madman affirms me to be the author of your noble act. I wiſh that I had been, for if I had, he would not have been ſo troubleſome to us at this time [*s*]."

OCTA-

[*r*] De quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam accenſentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem & boni viri & credunt factum & probant. [Ep. fam. 12. 23.] Inſidiis M. Antonii Conſulis latus petierat. [Sen. de Clem. l. 1. 9.] Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percuſſores ei ſubornavit. Hac fraude deprehenſa, &c. Sueton. Auguſt. x. Plutar. & Anton.

[*s*] Auget tuus amicus furorem indies primum in Statua, quam poſuit in Roſtris, inſcripſit, Parenti optime merito. Ut non modo ſicarii, ſed jam etiam Parricidæ judicemini. Quid dico judicemini? judicemur potius. Veſtri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furioſus me principem dicit fuiſſe. Utinam quidem fuiſſem, moleſtus non eſſet. Ep. fam. 12. 5.

OCTAVIUS was not leſs active in ſolliciting his Uncle's ſoldiers, ſparing neither pains nor money that could tempt them to his ſervice; and by outbidding Antony in all his offers and bribes to them, met with greater ſucceſs than was expected, ſo as to draw together in a ſhort time a firm and regular army of Veterans, compleatly furniſhed with all neceſſaries for preſent ſervice. But as he had no public character to juſtify this conduct, which in regular times would have been deemed treaſonable, ſo he paid the greater court to the Republican Chiefs, in hopes to get his proceedings authorized by the Senate; and by the influence of his troops, procure the command of the war to himſelf: he now therefore was continually preſſing Cicero by Letters and friends to come to *Rome*, and ſupport him with his authority againſt their common enemy, Antony; *promiſing to govern himſelf in every ſtep by his advice.* A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

BUT Cicero could not yet be perſuaded to enter into his affairs: he ſuſpected his youth and want of experience, and that he had not ſtrength enough to deal with Antony; and above all, that he had no good diſpoſition towards the Conſpirators: he thought it impoſſible that he ſhould ever be a friend to them, and was perſuaded rather that if ever he got the upper hand, *his Uncle's acts would be more violently enforced, and his death more cruelly revenged, than by Antony himſelf* [*t*]. Theſe conſiderations

[*t*] Valde tibi aſſentior, ſi multum poſſit Octavianus, multo firmius acta Tyranni comprobatum iri, quam in Telluris, atque id contra Brutum fore—ſed in iſto Juvene quanquam animi ſatis, auctoritatis parum eſt. Ad Att. 16, 14.

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ſiderations withheld him from an union with him, till the exigencies of the Republic made it abſolutely neceſſary; nor did he conſent at laſt, without making it an expreſs condition, that Octavius ſhould employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of Brutus *and his accomplices:* where his chief care and caution ſtill was, to arm him onely with a power ſufficient to oppreſs Antony, yet ſo checked and limited, that he ſhould not be able to oppreſs the Republic.

THIS is evident from many of his Epiſtles to Atticus; "I had a Letter, ſays he, from "Octavianus on the firſt of *November:* his de- "ſigns are great: he has drawn over all the "Veterans of *Caſilinum* and *Calatia:* and no "wonder, he gives ſixteen pounds a man. He "propoſes to make the tour of other colo- "nies: his view plainly is to have the com- "mand of the war againſt Antony; ſo that "we ſhall be in arms in a few days. But which "of them ſhall we follow?——Conſider his "name, his age: he begs to have a private "conference with me at *Capua*, or near it: 'tis "childiſh to imagine it could be private: "I gave him to underſtand, that it was neither "neceſſary nor practicable. He ſent to me one "Cæcina of *Volaterræ*, who brought word, that "Antony was coming towards the City with "the Legion of the *Alaudæ* [*u*]: that he rai- "ſed

[*u*] THIS Legion of the *Alaudæ* was firſt raiſed by J. Cæſar, and compoſed of the Natives of *Gaul*, armed and diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, to which he gave the freedom of *Rome*. He called it by a *Gallic* name, *Alaudæ*; which ſignified a kind of Lark or little bird with a tuft or creſt riſing upon it's head; in imitation

" ſed contributions from all the great Towns, A. Urb. 709.
" and marched with colors diſplayed: he aſked Cic. 63.
" my advice, whether he ſhould advance before Coſſ.
" him to *Rome*, with three thouſand Veterans, M. ANTONI-
" or keep the poſt of *Capua*, and oppoſe his US. P. COR-
" progreſs there, or go to the three *Macedonian* NELIUS DO-
" Legions, who were marching along the up- LABELLA.
" per coaſt, and are, as he hopes, in his inte-
" reſt——they would not take Antony's mo-
" ney, as this Cæcina ſays, but even affronted
" and left him while he was ſpeaking to them.
" In ſhort, he offers himſelf for our Leader,
" and thinks that we ought to ſupport him. I
" adviſe him to march to *Rome*: for he ſeems
" likely to have the meaner people on his ſide;
" and if he makes good what he promiſes, the
" better ſort too. O Brutus, where art thou?
" What an opportunity doſt thou loſe? I did
" not indeed foreſee this: yet thought that
" ſomething like it would happen. Give me
" your advice: ſhall I come away to *Rome*;
" ſtay where I am; or retire to *Arpinum*?
" where I ſhall be the ſafeſt. I had rather be at
" *Rome*, leſt if any thing ſhould be done, I
" ſhould be wanted: reſolve therefore for me:
" I never was in greater perplexity [*x*]."

AGAIN; " I had two Letters the ſame day
" from Octavius: he preſſes me to come im-
" mediately

imitation of which, this Legion wore a creſt of feathers on the helmet; from which origin the word was adopted into the *Latin* tongue. Antony, out of compliment to theſe troops, and to aſſure himſelf of their fidelity, had lately made a *judiciary law*, by which he erected a third Claſs of Judges, to be drawn from the Officers of this Legion, and added to the other two *of the Senators and Knights*; for which Cicero often reproaches him as a moſt infamous proſtitution of the dignity of the Republic—Phil. 1. 8.

[*x*] Ad Att. 16. 8.

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" mediately to *Rome*; is reſolved, he ſays, to " do nothing without the Senate—I tell him, " that there can be no Senate till the firſt of " *January*, which I take to be true: he adds " alſo, *nor without my advice.* In a word, he " urges; I hang back: I cannot truſt his age; " do not know his real intentions; will do no- " thing without Panſa; am afraid that Anto- " ny may prove too ſtrong for him; and un- " willing to ſtir from the ſea; yet would not " have any thing vigorous done without me. " Varro does not like the conduct of the boy; " but I do. He has firm troops, and may join " with D. Brutus: what he does, he does open- " ly; muſters his ſoldiers at *Capua*; pays " them; we ſhall have a war I ſee inſtant- " ly—[*y*]."

AGAIN; " I have Letters every day from " Octavianus; to undertake his affairs; to come " to him at *Capua*; to ſave the ſtate a ſecond " time: he reſolves to come directly to " *Rome.*

" Urg'd to the fight, 'tis ſhameful to refuſe,
" Whilſt fear yet prompts the ſafer part to
" chuſe.— Hom. Il. *n.*

" He has hitherto acted, and acts ſtill with " vigor; and will come to *Rome* with a great " force. Yet he is but a boy: he thinks the " Senate may be called immediately: but who " will come? or, if they do, who, in this un- " certainty of affairs, will declare againſt An- " tony? he will be a good guard to us on the " firſt of *January*: or it may come perhaps to " blows before. The great Towns favour the " boy

[*y*] Ibid. 9.

" boy ſtrangely.——They flock to him from " all parts, and exhort him to proceed: could " you ever have thought it [z]?" There are many other paſſages of the ſame kind, expreſſing a diffidence of Octavius, and inclination to ſit ſtill, and let them fight it out between themſelves: till the exigency of affairs made their union at laſt mutually neceſſary to each other. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

IN the hurry of all theſe politics, he was proſecuting his ſtudies ſtill with his uſual application; and beſides *the ſecond Philippic*, already mentioned, now finiſhed *his book of offices, or the duties of man, for the uſe of his ſon* [a]. A work admired by all ſucceeding ages, as the moſt perfect ſyſtem of Heathen morality, and the nobleſt effort and ſpecimen, of what *mere reaſon* could do towards guiding man thro' life with innocence and happineſs. He now alſo drew up, as it is thought, *his Stoical Paradoxes*, or an illuſtration of the peculiar doctrines of that ſect, from the Examples and Characters of their own Countrymen, which he addreſſed to Brutus.

ANTONY left *Rome* about the end of *September*, in order to meet and engage to his ſervice *Four Legions from Macedonia*, which had been ſent thither by Cæſar, on their way towards *Parthia*, and were now by his orders returning to *Italy*. He thought himſelf ſure of them, and by their help to be maſter of the City; but on his arrival at *Brundiſium on the eighth of* October, *three of the Legions*, to his great ſurprize, *rejected all his offers, and refuſed to follow him*. This affront ſo enraged him, that calling together *all the Centurions*, whom he ſuſpected

[z] Ad Att. 11. [a] Ibid.

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of being the authors of their diſaffection, he ordered them *to be maſſacred in his own lodgings, to the number of three hundred, while he and his wife Fulvia ſtood calmly looking on, to ſatiate their cruel revenge by the blood of theſe brave men:* after which he marched back towards *Rome, by the Appian road*, at the head of the ſingle legion, which ſubmitted to him; whilſt the other three took their rout along the Adriatic coaſt, without declaring yet for any ſide [*b*].

HE returned full of rage both againſt Octavius and the Republicans, and determined to make what uſe he could of the remainder of his Conſulſhip, in wreſting the Provinces and military commands out of the hands of his enemies, and diſtributing them to his friends. He publiſhed at the ſame time ſeveral fierce and threatening edicts, in which "he gave Octavius the "name of Spartacus, reproached him with the "ignobleneſs of his birth; charged Cicero with "being the author of all his councils; abuſed "young Quintus as a perfidious wretch, who "had offered to kill both his Father and Un-"cle; forbad three of the Tribuns, on pain of "death, to appear in the Senate, Q. Caſſius, "the brother of the Conſpirator, Carfulenus "and

[*b*] Ad d. VII. Id. Octob. Brundiſium erat profectus, Antonius, obviam legionibus Macedonicis IIII quas ſibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, caſque ad Urbem adducere. Ep. fam. 12. 23.

Quippe qui in hoſpitis tectis Brundiſii fortiſſimos viros, cives optimos, jugulari jufſerit: quorum ante pedes ejus morientium ſanguine os uxoris reſperſum eſſe conſabat. Phil. 3. 2.

Cum ejus promiſſis legiones fortiſſimæ reclamaſſent, domum ad ſe venire juſſit Centuriones, quos bene de Repub. ſentire cognoverat, eoſque ante pedes ſuos, uxoriſque ſuæ, quam ſecum gravis Imperator ad exercitum duxerat, jugulari coegit Phil. 5. 8.

" and Canutius [*c*]." In this humor he summon'd the Senate on *the twenty fourth of* October, with ſevere threats to thoſe who ſhould abſent themſelves; yet he himſelf neglected to come, and adjourned it by edict to *the twenty-eighth*: but while all people were in expectation of ſome extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, *to declare young Cæſar a public enemy* [*d*]; he happened to receive the news, *that two of the Legions from* Brundiſium, *the fourth, and that which was called the Martial, had actually declared for Octavius, and poſted themſelves at* Alba, *in the neighbourhood of* Rome. [*e*] This ſhocked him ſo much, that inſtead of proſecuting what he had projected, he onely huddled over what no body oppoſed, *the decree of a ſupplication to Lepidus*; and the ſame evening, after he had diſtributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the ſeveral provinces of the empire, which few or none of them durſt accept from ſo precarious a title, he changed the habit of the Conſul for that of the General, and left the City with precipitation,

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[*c*] Primum in Cæſarem ut maledicta congeſſit—ignobilitatem objicit C. Cæſaris filio—[Phil. 3. 6.] quem in Edictis Spartacum appellat. [ib. 8.] Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium compellat edicto—auſus eſt ſcribere, hunc de Patris & Patrui parricidio cogitaſſe. [ib. 7.] quid autem attinuerit, Q. Caſſio—mortem denunciare ſi in Senatum veniſſet. D. Carfulenum—e Senatu vi & mortis minis expellere: Tib. Canutium—non templo ſolum, ſed aditu prohibere Capitolii—ib. 9.

[*d*] Cum Senatum vocaſſet, adhibuiſſetque Conſularem, qui ſua ſententia C. Cæſarem hoſtem judicaret—Phil. 5. 9. App. 556.

[*e*] Poſtea vero quam Legio Martia decem præſtantiſſimum vidit, nihil egit aliud, niſi ut aliquando libere eſſemus: quam eſt imitata quarta Legio. Phil. 5. 8.

Atque ea Legio conſedit Albæ, &c. Phil. 3. 3.

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cipitation, to put himſelf at the head of his army, and poſſeſs himſelf by force of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, aſſigned to him by a pretended law of the people againſt the will of the Senate [*f*].

ON the news of his retreat, Cicero preſently quitted his books and the Country, and ſet out towards *Rome:* he ſeemed to be called by the voice of the Republic to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a Conſul, and ſcarce a ſingle Prætor in the City, nor any troops, from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived *on the ninth of* December, and immediately conferred with Panſa, *for Hirtius lay very ill*, about the meaſures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into their Conſulſhip.

BEFORE his leaving the Country, Oppius had been with him, to preſs him again to undertake the affairs of Octavius, and the protection of his troops: but his anſwer was, " that he " could not conſent to it, unleſs he were firſt " aſſured, that Octavius would not onely be no " enemy, but even a friend to Brutus: that he " could be of no ſervice to Octavius till the firſt " of *January*, and there would be an opportu- " nity before that time of trying Octavius's diſ- " poſition in the caſe of Caſca, who had been " named by Cæſar to the Tribunate, and was " to enter upon it on the tenth of *December:* " for if Octavius did not oppoſe or diſturb his " admiſſion, that would be a proof of his good " intentions

[*f*] Fugere feſtinans S. C. de ſupplicatione per diſceſſionem fecit—præclara tamen S. Cta. eo ipſo die veſpertina, provinciarum religioſa ſortitio—L. Lentulus & P. Naſo—nullum ſe habere provinciam, nullum Antonii ſortionem fuiſſe judicarunt. Phil. 3. 9, x.

" intentions [*g*]." Oppius undertook for all this on the part of Octavius, and Octavius himself confirmed it, and suffered Casca who gave the first blow to Cæsar, to enter quietly into his office. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THE new Tribuns in the mean time, in the absence of the superior Magistrates, called a meeting of the Senate *on the nineteenth:* Cicero had resolved not to appear there any more, till he should be supported by the new Consuls; but happening to receive the day before, *the Edict of* D. Brutus, by which *he prohibited* Antony *the entrance of his Province*, and declared, *that he would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in its duty to the Senate*, he thought it necessary for the public service, and the present encouragement of Brutus, to procure, as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favor: he went therefore to the Senate very early, which being observed by the other Senators *presently drew together a full House*, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of the public affairs [*h*].

[*g*] Sed ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Cascæ nostri Tribunatum: de quo quidem ipse dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescentemq; totamq; causam, manumq; veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset, eum non modo non inimicum tyrannoctonis, verum etiam amicum fore; cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur festinamus? inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kal. Jan. nihil opus est. Nos autem ante Id. Decemb. ejus voluntatem perspiciemus in Casca. Mihi valde assensus est—Ad Att. 16. 15.

[*h*] Cum Tribuni pleb. edixissent, Senatus adesset a d. 13. Kal. Jan. haberentque in animo de præsidio Consulum designatorum referre, quanquam statueram in Senatum ante Kal. Jan. non venire: tamen cum eo ipso die edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi Senatu, ut de tuis divinis in Remp. meritis silere-

tur,

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

HE saw the war actually commenced in the very bowels of *Italy*, on the success of which depended the fate of *Rome:* that *Gaul* would certainly be lost, and with it probably the Republic, if Brutus was not supported against the superior force of Antony: that there was no way of doing it so ready and effectual, as by employing Octavius *and his troops:* and tho' the entrusting him with that commission would throw a dangerous power into his hands, yet it would be controuled by the equal power, and superior authority of the *Two Consuls*, who where to be joined with him in the same command.

THE Senate being assembled, the Tribuns acquainted them, that the business of that meeting, was to provide a guard for the security of the new Consuls, and the protection of the Senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking *the whole state of the Republic* into consideration. Upon this Cicero opened the debate, "and represented to them the danger of their present condition, and the necessity of speedy and resolute "councils against an enemy, who lost no time "in attempting their ruin. That they had been "ruined indeed before, had it not been for the "courage and virtue of young Cæsar, who contrary to all expectation, and without being "even desired to do, what no man thought possible for him to do, had, by his private authority and expence, raised a strong army of "Veterans, and baffled the designs of Antony; "that

tur, quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem aut etiam si quid de te non honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. Itaque in Senatum veni mane. Quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi Senatores convenerunt. Ep. fam. xi. 6.

" that if Antony had ſucceeded at *Brundiſium*, A. Urb. 709.
" and prevailed with the legions to follow him, Cic. 63.
" he would have filled the City at his return Coſſ.
" with blood and ſlaughter: that it was their M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
" part to authorize and confirm what Cæſar
" had done; and to empower him to do more,
" by employing his troops in the farther ſervice
" of the ſtate; and to make a ſpecial proviſion
" alſo for the two Legions which had declared
" for him againſt Antony [*i*]. As to D. Bru-
" tus, who had promiſed by Edict to preſerve
" *Gaul* in the obedience of the Senate, that he
" was a Citizen, born for the good of the Re-
" public; the imitator of his anceſtors; nay,
" had even exceeded their merit; for the firſt
" Brutus expelled a proud King; he a fellow
" ſubject far more proud and profligate: that
" Tarquin, at the ſame time of his expulſion, was
" actually making war for the people of *Rome*;
" but Antony, on the contrary, had actually
" begun a war againſt them. That it was ne-
" ceſſary therefore to confirm by public autho-
" rity, what Brutus had done by private, in
" preſerving the Province of *Gaul*, the flower
" of *Italy*, and the bulwark of the Empire—[*k*].
" Then after largely inveighing againſt Anto-
" ny's character, and enumerating particularly
" all his cruelties and violences, he exhorts
" them in a pathetic manner, to act with cou-
" rage in defence of the Republic, or die brave-
" ly in the attempt: that now was the time ei-
" ther to recover their liberty, or to live for
" ever ſlaves: that if the fatal day was come,
" and *Rome* was deſtined to periſh, it would be
" a ſhame for them, the Governors of the world,

[*i*] Phil. 3. 1, 2, 3. [*k*] Ibid. 4, 5.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" not to fall with as much courage as Gladiators
" were uſed to do, and die with dignity, rather
" than live with diſgrace. He puts them in
" mind of the many advantages, which they
" had towards encouraging their hopes and re-
" ſolution; the body of the people alert and
" eager in the cauſe; young Cæſar in the guard
" of the City; Brutus of *Gaul*; two Conſuls of
" the greateſt prudence, virtue, concord between
" themſelves; who had been meditating no-
" thing elſe for many months paſt, but the pub-
" lic tranquility: to all which he promiſes his
" own attention and vigilance both day and
" night for their ſafety [*l*]. On the whole
" therefore, he gives his vote and opinion, that
" the new Conſuls, C. Panſa and A. Hirtius,
" ſhould take care that the Senate may meet
" with ſecurity on the firſt of *January*, that
" D. Brutus, Emperor and Conſul elect, had
" merited greatly of the Republic, by defend-
" ing the authority and liberty of the Senate and
" people of *Rome*: that his army, the Towns
" and Colonies of his Province, ſhould be pub-
" licly thanked and praiſed for their fidelity to
" him: that it ſhould be declared to be of the
" laſt conſequence to the Republic, that D.
" Brutus and L. Plancus (who commanded the
" farther *Gaul*) Emperor and Conſul elect, as
" well as all others who had the command of
" Provinces, ſhould keep them in their duty
" to the Senate, till Succeſſors were appointed
" by the Senate: and ſince by the pains, virtue
" and conduct of young Cæſar, and the aſſiſt-
" ance of the veteran ſoldiers who followed him,
" the Republic had been delivered, and was ſtill
" de-

[*l*] Ibid. 14. &c.

" defended from the greateſt dangers; and ſince A. Urb. 709.
" the martial and fourth Legions, under that Cic. 63.
" excellent Citizen and Quæſtor Egnatuleius, Coſſ.
" had voluntarily declared for the authority of M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
" the Senate, and the liberty of the people, that
" the Senate ſhould take ſpecial care that due
" honors and thanks be paid to them for their
" eminent ſervices: and that the new Conſuls,
" on their entrance into office, ſhould make it
" their firſt buſineſs to ſee all this executed in
" proper form: to all which the Houſe unani-
" mouſly agreed, and ordered a decree to be
" drawn conformably to his opinion."

FROM the Senate he paſſed directly to *the Forum*, and in a ſpeech to the people, gave an account of what had paſſed: he begins, " by
" ſignifying his joy to ſee ſo great a concourſe
" about him, greater than he had ever remem-
" bered, a ſure omen of their good inclinations,
" and an encouragement both to his endeavours
" and his hopes of recovering the Republic.
" Then he repeats with ſome variation what
" he had delivered in the Senate, of the praiſes
" of Cæſar and Brutus, and the wicked deſigns
" of Antony: that the race of the Brutus's was
" given to them by the ſpecial providence of
" the Gods, for the perpetual defenders and de-
" liverers of the Republic [*m*]: that by what
" the Senate had decreed, they had in fact, tho'
" not in expreſs words, declared Antony a
" public enemy: that they muſt conſider him
" therefore as ſuch, and no longer as Conſul:
" that they had to deal with an enemy, with
" whom no terms of peace could be made:
" who thirſted not ſo much after their liberty,
" as

[*m*] Phil. 4. 3.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

" as their blood: to whom no ſport was ſo " agreeable, as to ſee Citizens butchered before " his eyes —— That the Gods however by " portents and prodigies ſeemed to foretel his " ſpeedy downfall, ſince ſuch a conſent and " union of all ranks againſt him could never " have been effected, but by a divine influence, " *&c.* [*n*]".

THESE ſpeeches, which ſtand *the third and fourth* in the order of *his Philippics*, were extremely well received both by the Senate and People: ſpeaking afterwards of the latter of them to the ſame people, he ſays, *if that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped ſufficient fruit from it, when you all with one mind and voice cried out, that I had twice ſaved the Republic* [*o*]. As he had now broken all meaſures with Antony, beyond the poſſibility of a reconciliation, ſo he publiſhed probably about this time his ſecond *Philippic*, which had hitherto been communicated onely to a few friends, whoſe approbation it had received.

THE ſhort remainder of this turbulent year was ſpent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new Conſuls, and the defence of the ſtate: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence for the certain news that was brought to *Rome, that Antony was actually beſieging Modena*, into which Brutus, unable to oppoſe him in the field, had thrown himſelf with all his forces, as the ſtrongeſt Town of his Province,

[*n*] Ibid. 4. &c.

[*o*] Quo quidem tempore, etiam ſi ille dies vitæ finem mihi allaturus eſſe, ſatis magnum ceperam fructum, cum vos univerſi una mente ac voce iterum a me conſervatam eſſe Remp. conclamaſtis. Phil. 6. 1.

Province, and the beſt provided to ſuſtain a ſiege. Young Cæſar in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the ſenate, but *with the advice of Cicero*, by which he now governed himſelf in every ſtep, marched out of *Rome* at the head of his troops, and followed Antony into the Province: in order to obſerve his motions, and take all occaſions of diſtreſſing him; as well as to encourage Brutus to defend himſelf with vigor, till the Conſuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

A. Urb. 709, Cic. 63. Coſſ. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

SECT.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coſſ.
C. VIBIUS PANSA.
A. HIRTIUS.

SECT. X.

ON the opening of the year, the City was in great expectation, to ſee what meaſures their new Conſuls would purſue: they had been at ſchool, as it were, all the ſummer to Cicero, forming the plan of their adminiſtration, and taking their leſſons of governing from him, and ſeem to have been brought intirely into his general view, of eſtabliſhing the peace and liberty of the Republic on the foundation of *an Amneſty*. But their great obligations to Cæſar and long engagements with that party, to which they owed all their fortunes, had left ſome ſcruples in them, which gave a check to their zeal, and diſpoſed them to act with more moderation againſt old friends, than the condition of times would allow; and before the experiment of arms, to try the gentler methods of a treaty. With theſe ſentiments, as ſoon as they were inaugurated, they entered into a deliberation with the Senate, on the preſent ſtate of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been reſolved upon at their laſt meeting, and to contrive ſome farther means for the ſecurity of the public tranquillity. They both ſpoke with great ſpirit and firmneſs, offering themſelves as Leaders, in aſſerting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the aſſembly to courage and reſolution in the defence of ſo good a cauſe [*p*]: and when they had done, they called up Q. Fuſius Calenus, to deliver his ſentiments *the firſt*.

[*p*] Ut oratio Conſulum animum meum erexit, ſpemque attulit non modo ſalutis conſervandæ, verum etiam dignitatis priſtinæ recuperandæ. Phil. 5. 1.

firſt. He had been Conſul four years before by Cæſar's nomination, and was father-in-law to Panſa, which by cuſtom was a ſufficient ground for paying him that compliment: Cicero's opinion was already well known; he was for the ſhorteſt and readieſt way of coming at their end, *by declaring Antony a public enemy*, and without loſs of time acting againſt him by open force: but this was not reliſhed by the Conſuls, who called therefore upon Calenus to ſpeak firſt; that as he was a faſt friend to Antony, and ſure to be on the moderate ſide, he might inſtil ſome ſentiments of that ſort into the Senate, before Cicero had made a contrary impreſſion. Calenus's opinion therefore, was, *that before they proceeded to acts of hoſtility, they ſhould ſend an embaſſy to Antony, to admoniſh him to deſiſt from his attempt upon* Gaul, *and ſubmit to the authority of the Senate:* Piſo and ſeveral others were of the ſame mind, alledging it to be unjuſt and cruel to condemn a man, till they had firſt heard what he had to ſay for himſelf.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

BUT Cicero oppoſed this motion with great warmth, not onely as "vain and fooliſh, but "dangerous and pernicious: he declared it diſ-"honourable to treat with any one, who was in "arms againſt his country, untill he laid them "down and ſued for peace; in which caſe no "man would be more moderate or equitable "than himſelf: that they had in effect pro-"claimed him an enemy already, and had no-"thing left but to confirm it by a decree, when "he was beſieging one of the great Towns of "*Italy*, a Colony of *Rome*, and in it their "*Conſul elect*, and General Brutus: he obſer-"ved from what motives thoſe other opinions "proceeded; from particular friendſhips, rela-"tions,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" tions, private obligations; but that a regard " to their Country was ſuperior to them all: " that the real point before them was, whether " Antony ſhould be ſuffered to oppreſs the " Republic: to mark out whom he pleaſed to " deſtruction; to plunder the City, and enſlave " the Citizens—[*q*]. That this was his ſole " view, he ſhewed from a detail not onely " of his acts but of his expreſs declarations— " for he had ſaid in the Temple of Caſtor, in " the hearing of the people, that whenever it " came to blows, no man ſhould remain alive, " who did not conquer—and in another ſpeech; " that when he was out of his Conſulſhip, he " would keep an army ſtill about the City, and " enter it whenever he thought fit: that in a " Letter which Cicero himſelf had ſeen, to " one of his friends, he bad him to mark out " for himſelf what eſtate he would have, and " whatever it was, he ſhould certainly have " it [*r*]: that to talk of ſending Embaſſadors " to ſuch an one, was to betray their ignorance " of the conſtitution of the Republic, the ma- " jeſty of the *Roman* people, and the diſcipline " of their anceſtors—[*s*] that whatever was the " purpoſe of their meſſage, it would ſignify " nothing: if to beg him to be quiet, he would " deſpiſe it; if to command him, would " not obey it—that without any poſſible good, " it would be a certain damage; would neceſ- " ſarily create delay, and obſtruction to the " operations of the war; check the zeal of the " army; damp the ſpirits of the people: whom " they now ſaw ſo briſk and eager in the cauſe " —that

[*q*] Phil. 5. 1, 2, 3. [*r*] Ibid. 8, 12.
[*s*] Ibid.

" —that the greateſt revolutions of affairs were A. Urb. 710.
" effected often by trifling incidents; and above Cic. 64.
" all in civil wars, which were generally go- Coſſ.
" verned by popular rumor: that how vigo- C. VIBIUS
" rous ſoever their inſtructions were to the Em- PANSA.
" baſſadors, that they would be little regard- A. HIRTIUS.
" ed: the very name of an Embaſſy implied a
" diffidence and fear, which was ſufficient to
" cool the ardor of their friends [*t*]: they
" might order him to retire from *Modena*; to
" quit the Province of *Gaul*; but this was not
" to be obtained by words, but extorted by
" arms — that while the Embaſſadors were
" going and coming, people would be in
" doubt and ſuſpence about the ſucceſs of their
" negotiation, and under the expectation of a
" doubtfull war, what progreſs could they hope
" to make in their levies?—that his opinion
" therefore was, to make no farther mention
" of an Embaſſy; but to enter inſtantly into
" action: that there ſhould be a ceſſation of
" all civil buſineſs; a public tumult procla-
" med; the ſhops ſhut up; and that inſtead
" of their uſual gown, they ſhould all put on
" *the Sagum*, or habit of war: and that levies
" of ſoldiers ſhould be made in *Rome*, and
" through *Italy*, without any exception of
" privilege or diſmiſſion from ſervice — that
" the very fame of this vigor would reſtrain
" the madneſs of Antony, and let the world
" ſee, that the caſe was not, as he pre-
" tended, a ſtruggle onely of contending par-
" ties, but a real war againſt the Common-
" wealth—that the whole Republic ſhould be
" committed to the Conſuls, to take care, that
" it

[*t*] Ibid. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" it received no detriment —— that pardon " ſhould be offered to thoſe of Antony's army, " who ſhould return to their duty before the firſt " of *February*——that if they did not come to " this Reſolution now, they would be forced to " do it afterwards, when it would be too late " perhaps, or leſs effectual [*u*]."

THIS was the ſum of what he adviſed as to their conduct towards Antony: he next proceded to the other ſubject of their debate; *the honors which were ordered to be decreed at their laſt meeting*; and began with D. Brutus, as *Conſul elect*; in favor of whom, beſides many high expreſſions of praiſe, he propoſed a decree to this effect——" Whereas D. Brutus, *Empe-* " *ror*, *Conſul elect*, now holds the province of " *Gaul* in the power of the Senate and People " of *Rome*; and by the chearfull aſſiſtance of the " Towns and Colonies of his Province, has " drawn together a great army in a ſhort time; " that he has done all this rightly and regularly, " and for the ſervice of the ſtate: and that it is " the ſenſe therefore of the Senate and People, " that the Republic has been relieved in a moſt " difficult conjuncture, by the pains, counſil, " virtue of D. Brutus, *Emperor*, *Conſul elect*, " and by the incredible zeal and concurrence of " the Province of *Gaul*." He moved alſo for *an extraordinary honor to* M. Lepidus, who had no pretenſion to it indeed from paſt ſervices, but being now at the head of the beſt army in the Empire, was in a condition to do the moſt good or ill to them of any man. This was the ground of the compliment; for his faith being ſuſpected, and his union with Antony dreaded, Cicero, hoped,

[*u*] Ibid. 10. 12.

hoped, by this teſtimony of their confidence, to confirm him in the intereſts of the Senate: but he ſeems to be hard put to it for a pretext of merit to ground his decree upon: he takes notice, "that Lepidus was always moderate in "power, and a friend to liberty: that he gave "a ſignal proof of it, when Antony offered the "Diadem to Cæſar; for by turning away his "face, he publicly teſtified his averſion to ſla-"very, and that his compliance with the times "was thro' neceſſity, not choice——that ſince "Cæſar's death he had practiſed the ſame mo-"deration: and when a bloody war was revived "in *Spain*, choſe to put an end to it by the me-"thods of prudence and humanity, rather than "by arms and the ſword, and conſented to the "reſtoration of S. Pompey [*x*]." For which reaſon he propoſed the following Decree——— "Whereas the Republic has often been well and "happily adminiſtred by M. Lepidus, the chief "Prieſt; and the people of *Rome* have always "found him to be an enemy to kingly govern-"ment; and whereas by his endeavours, virtue, "wiſdom, and his ſingular clemency and mild-"neſs, a moſt dreadful civil war is extinguiſh-"ed; and S. Pompey the Great, the Son of "Cnæus, out of reſpect to the authority of the "Senate, has quitted his arms, and is reſtored "to the City; that the Senate and People, out "of regard to the many and ſignal ſervices of "M. Lepidus, Emperor, and chief Prieſt, place "great hopes of their peace, concord, liberty, "in his virtue, authority, felicity; and from "a grateful ſenſe of his merits, decree, that a "gilt Equeſtrian ſtatue ſhall be erected to him

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

[*x*] Ibid. 14.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS

" by their order in the Roſtra, or any other " part of the Forum, which he ſhall chuſe—— " [*y*]." He comes next to young Cæſar; and after enlarging on his praiſes, propoſes, " that they ſhould grant him a proper com- " miſſion and command over his Troops, with- " out which he could be of no uſe to them; " and that he ſhould have the rank and all the " rights of a *Proprætor*; not onely for the ſake " of his dignity, but the neceſſary management " of their affairs, and the adminiſtration of the " war." —— And then offers the form of a Decree—— " Whereas C. Cæſar, the Son of " Caius, Prieſt, Proprætor, has, in the utmoſt " diſtreſs of the Republic, excited and enliſted " Veteran Troops to defend the liberty of the " *Roman* people; and whereas the Martial and " fourth legions, under the leading and au- " thority of C. Cæſar, have defended, and now " defend the Republic, and the liberty of the " *Roman* people; and whereas C. Cæſar is " gone at the head of his army to project the " Province of *Gaul*; has drawn together a bo- " dy of horſe, archers, Elephants, under his " own and the people's power; and in the moſt " dangerous criſis of the Republic, has ſupport- " ed the ſafety and dignity of the *Roman* peo- " ple; for theſe reaſons the Senate decrees, " that C. Cæſar, the Son of Caius, Prieſt, " Proprætor, be henceforward a Senator, and " vote in the rank and place of a *Prætor*; and " that in ſolliciting for any future Magiſtracy, " the ſame regard be had to him, as would " have been had by law, if he had been Quæ- " ſtor the year before——[*z*]. As to thoſe, " who

[*y*] Ibid. 15. [*z*] Ibid. 17.

" who thought these honors too great for so A. Urb. 710.
" young a man, and apprehended danger from Cic. 64.
" his abuse of them, he declares their appre- Coss.
" hensions to be the effect of envy, rather than C. Vibius
" fear; since the nature of things was such, Pansa.
" that he, who had once got a taste of true A. Hirtius.
" glory, and found himself universally dear to
" the Senate and people, could never think
" any other acquisition equal to it: he wishes
" that J. Cæsar had taken the same course,
" when young, of endearing himself to the Se-
" nate and honest men; but by neglecting that,
" he spent the force of his great genius in ac-
" quiring a vain popularity; and having no
" regard to the Senate and the better sort,
" opened himself a way to power, which the
" virtue of a free people could not bear——
" that there was nothing of this kind to be
" feared from the Son; nor after the proof of
" such admirable prudence in a boy, any ground
" to imagine that his riper age would be less
" prudent———for what greater folly could
" there be, than to prefer an useless power, an
" invidious greatness, the lust of reigning, al-
" ways slippery and tottering, to true, weigh-
" ty, solid glory?——if they suspected him
" as an enemy to some of their best and most
" valued Citizens, they might lay aside those
" fears, he had given up all his resentments to
" the Republic; made her the Moderatrix of
" all his acts—— that he knew the most in-
" ward sentiments of the youth; would pawn
" his credit for him to the Senate and People;
" would promise, engage, undertake, that he
" would always be the same that he now was;
" such as they should wish and desire to see

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" him——[*a*]. He procedes alſo to give a " public teſtimonial of praiſe and thanks to " L. Egnatuleius, for his fidelity to the Repub- " lic, in bringing over the fourth Legion from " Antony to Cæſar; and moves, that it might " be granted to him for that piece of ſervice, " to ſue for and hold any magiſtracy three years " before the legal time——[*b*]. Laſtly, as " to the Veteran Troops, which had followed " the Authority of Cæſar and the Senate, and " eſpecially the *Martial*, and *Fourth Legions*, " he moved, that an exemption from ſervice " ſhould be decreed to them and their children, " except in the caſe of a Gallic or domeſtic tu- " mult; and that the Conſuls C. Panſa and " A. Hirtius, or one of them, ſhould provide " lands in *Campania*, or elſewhere to be divi- " ded to them; and that as ſoon as the preſent " war was over, they ſhould all be diſcharged. " and punctually receive whatever ſums of " money C. Cæſar had promiſed to them when " they firſt declared for him.———

THIS was the ſubſtance of his ſpeech; in the latter part of which, the propoſal of honors, the Senate readily agreed with him: and tho' thoſe which were decreed to Octavius, ſeemed ſo extraordinary to Cicero himſelf, that he thought it proper to make an apology for them, yet there were others of the firſt rank who thought them not great enough; ſo that Philippus *added the honor of a Statue*; Ser. Sulpicius, *and* Servilius, *the privilege of ſuing for any Magiſtracy, ſtill earlier than* Cicero *had propoſed.*

[*a*] Ibid. 18. [*b*] Ibid. 19.

ſed [*c*]. But the aſſembly was much divided about the main queſtion, *of ſending a deputation to* Antony: ſome of the principal Senators were warmly for it; and the Conſuls themſelves favored it, *and artfully avoided to put it to the vote* [*d*]; which would otherwiſe have been carried by Cicero, who had a clear majority on his ſide. The debate being held on till night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the ſame warmth for *three days* ſucceſſively, while the Senate continued all the time in Cicero's opinion, and would have paſſed a decree conformable to it, had not Salvius *the Tribun put his negative upon them* [*e*]. This firmneſs of Antony's friends prevailed at laſt for *an Embaſſy*; and *three Conſular Senators* were preſently nominated to it, S. Sulpicius, L. Piſo, and L. Philippus: but their commiſſion was ſtrictly limited, and drawn up by Cicero himſelf; giving them no power to treat with Antony, but to carry to him onely the peremptory commands of the Senate, *to quit the ſiege of* Modena, *and deſiſt from all hoſtilities in* Gaul: they had inſtructions likewiſe, after the delivery of their meſſage, to ſpeak with D. Brutus in *Modena*, and ſignify to him and his army, *that the Senate and People had a grateful Senſe of their*

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. C. HIRTIUS.

I 3 *Services,*

[*c*] Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, poſt majorem etiam Servilius: nihil tum nimium videbatur. Ad Brut. 15.

[*d*] Has in ſententias meas ſi Conſules diſceſſionem facere voluiſſent, omnibus iſtis latronibus auctoritate ipſa Senatus jampridem de manibus arma cecidiſſent. Phil. 14. 7.

[*e*] Itaque hæc Sententia per triduum ſic valuit ut quamquam diſceſſio facta non eſt, tamen præter paucos, omnes mihi aſſenſuri viderentur. Phil. 6. 1. App. p. 559.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

Services, which would one day be a great honor to them. [*f*].

THE unuſual length of theſe debates greatly raiſed the curioſity of the City, and drew the whole body of the people into the Forum, to expect the iſſue; where, as they had done alſo not long before, they could not forbear *calling out upon Cicero with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations* [*g*]. He went therefore directly from the Senate into the *Roſtra*, produced by Appuleius, *the Tribun*, and acquainted them in a ſpeech with the reſult of their debates,—— "that the Senate, excepting "a few, after they had ſtood firm for three days "to his opinion, had given it up at laſt, with "leſs gravity indeed than became them, yet "not meanly or ſhamefully, having decreed "not ſo much an Embaſſy as a denunciation "of war to Antony, if he did not obey it: "which carried indeed an appearance of ſeve- "rity; and he wiſhed onely that it had carried "no delay——that Antony, he was ſure, "would never obey it, nor ever ſubmit to their "power, who had never been in his own—— "that he would do therefore in that place what "he had been doing in the Senate; teſtify, "warn, and declare to them before-hand, that "Antony would perform no part of what their "Embaſſadors were ſent to require of him—— "that

[*f*] Quamquam non eſt illa legatio, ſed denunciatio belli, niſi paruerit—mittuntur enim qui nuncient, ne oppugnet conſulem deſignatum, ne Mutinam obſideat, ne Provinciam depopuletur. —Phil. 6. 2.

Dantur mandata legatis ut D. Brutum, militeſque, ejus adeant, &c. ib. 3.

[*g*] Quid ego de univerſo populo R. dicam? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in concionem vocavit. Phil. 7. 8.

" that he would ſtill waſte the country, beſiege A. Urb. 710.
" *Modena*, and not ſuffer the Embaſſadors Cic. 64.
" themſelves to enter the Town, or ſpeak with Coſſ.
" Brutus—believe me, ſays he, I know the C. VIBIUS PANSA.
" violence, the impudence, the audaciouſneſs of A. HIRTIUS.
" the man—let our Embaſſadors then make
" haſt, which I know they are reſolved to do;
" but do you prepare your military habit; for
" it is a part alſo of our decree, that if he does
" not comply, we muſt all put on that garb:
" we ſhall certainly put it on: he will never
" obey; we ſhall lament the loſs of ſo many
" days which might have been employed in
" action——[*b*]. I am not afraid, when he
" comes to hear, how I have declared this be-
" fore-hand, that for the ſake of confuting me,
" he ſhould change his mind, and ſubmit. He
" will never do it; will not envy me this glo-
" ry; will chuſe rather, that you ſhould think
" me wiſe, than him modeſt" — he obſerves,
" that tho' it would have been better to ſend no
" meſſage, yet ſome good would flow from it
" to the Republic; for when the Embaſſadors
" ſhall make the report, which they ſurely will
" make, Antony's refuſal to obey the Peo-
" ple and Senate, who can be ſo perverſe, as
" to look upon him any longer as a Citizen?—
" Wherefore wait, ſays he, with patience, Ci-
" tizens, the return of the Embaſſadors, and
" digeſt the inconvenience of a few days: if on
" their return they bring peace, call me preju-
" diced; if war, provident [*i*]."———Then
after aſſuring them, " of his perpetual vigilance
" for their ſafety, and applauding their won-
" derful alacrity in the cauſe, and declaring,

[*b*] Phil. 6. 1, 2, 3. [*i*] Ibid. 4, 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" that of all the aſſemblies which he had ſeen, " he had never known ſo full an one as the " preſent," he thus concludes, " The ſeaſon of " liberty is now come, my Citizens, much la- " ter indeed than became the people of *Rome*; " but ſo ripe now, that it cannot be deferred " a moment. What we have hitherto ſuffered " was owing to a kind of fatality, which we " have born as well as we could; but if any " ſuch caſe ſhould happen again, it muſt be " owing to ourſelves: it is not poſſible for the " people of *Rome* to be ſlaves, whom the Gods " have deſtined to the command of all nations: " the affair is now reduced to the laſt extre- " mity; the ſtruggle is for liberty: it is your " part either to conquer, which will ſurely be " the fruit of your piety and concord, or to " ſuffer any thing rather than live ſlaves: other " nations may endure ſlavery; but the proper " end and buſineſs of the *Roman* people is li- " berty."

THE Embaſſadors prepared themſelves immediately to execute their Commiſſion, and the next morning early ſet forwards towards Antony, tho' Ser. Sulpicius was in a very declining ſtate of health. Various were the ſpeculations about the ſucceſs of this meſſage: but Antony gained one certain advantage by it, of more time, either to preſs the ſiege of *Modena*, or to take ſuch meaſures as freſh accidents might offer: nor were his friends without hopes of drawing from it ſome pretence for opening a treaty with him; ſo as to give room to the chiefs of *the Cæſarian Faction* to unite themſelves againſt the Senate and Republican party; which ſeemed to be inſpired by Cicero, with a reſolution of extinguiſhing all the remains of the late Tyranny.

For

For this purpose the Partisans of that cause were endeavouring to obviate the offence, which might be given by Antony's refusal to comply with what was injoined; contriving specious answers for him, and representing them as a reasonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardor of the City for the prosecution of the war: Calenus was at the head of this party, who kept a constant correspondence with Antony, *and took care to publish such of his Letters, as were proper to depress the hopes and courage of his adversaries, and keep up the spirits of his friends* [*k*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Cicero therefore, at a meeting of the Senate, called in this interval about certain matters of ordinary form, took occasion to rouze the zeal of the assembly, by warning them of the mischief of these insinuations. He observed, "that "the affairs then proposed to their deliberation "were of little consequence, tho' necessary in "the common course of public business, about "the *Appian way*, *the coin*, *the Luperci*, which "would easily be adjusted; but that his mind "was called off from the consideration of them "by the more important concerns of the Re-"public——that he had always been afraid of "sending the Embassy—and now every body "saw what a languor the expectation of it had "caused in people's minds; and what a handle "it had given to the practices of those, who "grieved to see the Senate recovering its an-"cient authority: the people united with them; "all

[*k*] Ille litteras ad te mittat de spe sua secundarum rerum? eas tu lætus proferas? —describendas etiam des improbis civibus? eorum augeas animos? bonorum spem, virtutemque debilites? —— Phil. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" all *Italy* on the ſame ſide, the armies pre-
" pared; their generals ready to take the
" field——who feign anſwers for Antony, and
" applaud them, as if they had ſent Embaſſa-
" dors not to give, but receive conditions from
" him."——Then after expoſing the danger and iniquity of ſuch practices, and rallying the principal abettor of them, Calenus, he adds, " that he, who all his life had been the author " and promoter of civil peace; who owed " whatever he was, whatever he had to it; his " honors, intereſt, dignity; nay, even the ta-
" lents and abilities which he was maſter of;
" yet I, ſays he, the perpetual adviſer of peace,
" am for no peace with Antony."——where perceiving himſelf to be heard with great attention——he proceeds to explain at large thro' the reſt of his ſpeech, " that ſuch a peace would " be diſhonourable, dangerous, and could not " poſſibly ſubſiſt—— he exhorts the Senate " therefore to be attentive, prepared and armed " before-hand; ſo as not to be caught by a " ſmooth or ſuppliant anſwer, and the falſe ap-
" pearance of equity: that Antony muſt do
" every thing which was preſcribed to him, be-
" fore he could pretend to aſk any thing; if
" not, that it was not the Senate which procla-
" med war againſt him, but he againſt the *Ro-*
" *man* people. But for you, Fathers, I give
" you warning, ſays he, the queſtion before
" you concerns the liberty of the people of
" *Rome*, which is entruſted to your care; it
" concerns the lives and fortunes of every ho-
" neſt man; it concerns your own authority;
" which you will for ever loſe, if you do not
" retrieve it now —— I admoniſh you too,
" Panſa; for tho' you want no advice, in which

" you

" you excel, yet the beſt Pilots in great ſtorms A. Urb. 710.
" are ſometimes admoniſhed by paſſengers; ne- Cic. 64.
" ver ſuffer that noble proviſion of arms and Coſſ.
" troops which you have made, to come to no- C. VIBIUS PANSA.
" thing; you have ſuch an opportunity before A. HIRTIUS.
" you as no man ever had: by this firmneſs of
" the Senate, this alacrity of the Equeſtrian
" order, this ardor of the people, you have it
" in your power to free the Republic for ever
" from fear and danger—[*l*]."

THE Conſuls in the mean while were taking care, that the expectation of the effect of the Embaſſy ſhould not ſuperſede their preparations for war; and agreed between themſelves, *that one of them ſhould march immediately to* Gaul, with the troops which were already provided, and *the other ſtay behind to perfect the new levies*, which were carried on with great ſucceſs both in the City, and the Country: for all the capital Towns of *Italy*, were vying with each other *in voluntary contributions of money and ſoldiers*; *and in decrees of infamy and diſgrace to thoſe who refuſed to liſt themſelves into the public ſervice* [*m*]. The firſt part fell by lot to Hirtius [*n*]; who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous indiſpoſition, marched away without loſs of time at the head of a brave army; and particularly, *of the two Legions, the Martial and the fourth*, which were eſteemed the flower and ſtrength of the whole, and now put themſelves under the command and auſpices of the Conſul. With theſe,

[*l*] Vid. Phil. 7.

[*m*] An cum Municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta ſtudia cognoſcuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniis pollicendis—hæc jam tota Italia fiunt. Phil. 7, 8, 9.

[*n*] Conſul ſortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius—Phil. 14. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

theſe, in conjunction with Octavius, he hoped to obſtruct all the deſigns of Antony, and prevent his gaining any advantage againſt Brutus, till Panſa could join them, which would make them ſuperior in force, and enable them to give him battle, with good aſſurance of victory. He contented himſelf in the mean while with diſpoſſeſſing Antony of ſome of his poſts; and diſtreſſing him, by ſtraitening his quarters, and opportunities of forage; in which he had ſome ſucceſs, as he ſignified in a Letter to his Collegue Panſa, which was communicated to the Senate; *I have poſſeſt myſelf*, ſays he, *of Claterna, and driven out Antony's garriſon: his horſe were routed in the action, and ſome of them ſlain* [*o*]: and in all his Letters to Cicero, he aſſured him, *that he would undertake nothing, without the greateſt caution*; in anſwer probably, to what Cicero was conſtantly inculcating, not to expoſe himſelf too forwardly, till Panſa could come up to him [*p*].

THE Embaſſadors returned about the beginning of *February*, having been retarded ſomewhat longer than they intended, *by the death of* Ser. Sulpicius; which happening when they were juſt arrived at Antony's camp, *left the Embaſſy maimed and imperfect*, as Cicero ſays, by the loſs of the beſt and ableſt man of the three [*q*]. The report, which they made to the Senate, anſwered exactly in every point to what

[*o*] Dejeci præſidium, Claterna potitus ſum, fugati equites, prælium commiſſum, occiſi aliquot. Phil. 8. 2.

[*p*] Hirtius nihil niſi conſiderate, ut mihi crebris litteris ſignificat, acturus videbatur. Ep. fam. 12. 5.

[*q*] Cum Ser. Sulpicius ætate illos anteiret, ſapientia omnes, ſubito ereptus e cauſſa totam legationem orbam & debilitatem reliquit. Phil. 9. 1.

what Cicero had foretold; *that Antony would perform no part of what was required, nor suffer them even to speak with Brutus, but continued to batter the Town with great fury in their presence:* he offered however some conditions of his own, which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him, and lay before the Senate: the purport of them was, "that the Senate should assign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the "other grants, which he and Dolabella had "made in their Consulship: that all his decrees "from Cæsar's books and papers should stand "firm: that no account should be demanded "of the money taken from the Temple of Opis; nor any inquiry made into the conduct "of the seven Commissioners, created to divide the lands to the Veteran soldiers; and "that his judiciary law should not be repealed: "on these terms he offered to give up *Cisalpine* "*Gaul*, provided, that he might have the "greater *Gaul* in exchange for five years, with "an army of six Legions, to be compleated out "of the troops of D. Brutus [*r*]."

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

PANSA summoned the Senate to consider the report of the Embassadors; which raised a general Indignation through the City, and gave all possible advantage to Cicero, towards bringing the house into his sentiments: but contrary to expectation, he found Calenus's party still strong

[*r*] Ante Consulis oculosq; legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit—ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnatio respiravit—cum illi contempti & rejecti revertissent, dixissentque Senatui, non modo illum e Gallia non discessisse, uti censuissemus, sed ne a Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuisse, &c. vid. Phil. 8. 7, 8, 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

ſtrong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry ſome points againſt him; all tending to ſoften the rigor of his motions, and give them a turn more favourable towards Antony. He moved the Senate to decree, *that a war or rebellion was actually commenced:* they carried it for *a tumult:* he urged them, *to declare Antony an enemy:* they carried it for a ſofter term, *of adverſary* [*s*]: he propoſed, that all perſons ſhould be prohibited from going to Antony: they excepted Varius Cotyla, one of his Lieutenants, who was then in the Senate, taking notes of every thing which paſſed: in theſe votes Panſa *himſelf, and all the Conſular Senators concurred*; even L. Cæſar, who though a true friend to liberty, yet being Antony's *Uncle*, thought himſelf obliged by decency, to vote on the milder ſide [*t*].

BUT Cicero in his turn eaſily threw out, what was warmly preſſed on the other ſide: *the propoſal of a ſecond Embaſſy*; and carried likewiſe the main queſtion, of requiring the Citizens *to change their ordinary gown, for the Sagum or habit of war:* by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. In all decrees of this kind, *the Conſular Senators*, on the account of their dignity, were excuſed from changing their habit; but Cicero, to inculcate more ſenſibly the diſtreſs of the Republic, *reſolved to wave his privilege, and wear the ſame robe with the reſt of the City* [*u*]. In a Letter to Caſſius, he

[*s*] Ego princeps Sagorum: ego ſemper hoſtem appellavi, cum alii adverſarium: ſemper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum, &c. Phil. 12. 7.

[*t*] Vid. Phil. 8. 1, 10.

[*u*] Equidem, P. C. quamquam hoc honore uſi togati ſolent eſſe, cum eſt in ſagis civitas; ſtatui tamen a vobis, cæteriſque civibus in tanta atrociate temporis—non differre veſtitu. Phil. 8. 11.

he gives the following short account of the state of things at this time: "We have excellent "Consuls, but most shameful Consulars: a "brave Senate; but the lower they are in dig- "nity, the braver: nothing firmer and better "than the people, and all *Italy* universally: "but nothing more detestable and infamous, "than our Embassadors, Philip and Piso: "who, when sent onely to carry the orders of "the Senate to Antony, none of which he "would comply with, brought back, of their "own accord, intolerable demands from him: "wherefore all the world now flock about me; "and I am grown popular in a salutary cause, "*&c.* [*x*]." A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

THE Senate met again the next day, to draw into form, and perfect what had been resolved upon in the preceding debate: when Cicero, in a pathetic speech, took occasion to expostulate with them for their imprudent lenity the day before: "He shewed the absurdity of "their scruples about voting a *civil war*: that "the word *Tumult*, which they had preferred, "either carried in it no real difference, or if any, "implied a greater perturbation of all things "[*y*]: he proved from every step that Anto- "ny had taken, and was taking; from every "thing which the Senate, the People, the Towns "of

[*x*] Egregios Consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares: Senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaque universa. Nihil autem fœdius Philippo & Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius: qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex S. C. certas res nunciarent: cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur: factique jam in re salutari populares sumus. Ep. fam. 12. 4.

[*y*] Phil. 8. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" of *Italy* were doing and decreeing againſt
" him, that they were truly and properly in a
" ſtate of *civil war*; the fifth which had hap-
" pened in their memory, and the moſt deſpe-
" rate of them all, being the firſt which was
" ever raiſed, not by a diſſention of parties con-
" tending for a ſuperiority in the Republic, but
" againſt an union of all parties, to enſlave and
" oppreſs the Republic [z]. He proceeds to
" expoſtulate with Calenus, for his obſtinate
" adherence to Antony, and expoſe the weak-
" neſs of his pretended plea for it; a love of
" peace, and concern for the lives of the Citi-
" zens——he puts him in mind, that there
" was no juſter cauſe of taking arms, than to
" repel ſlavery; that ſeveral other cauſes indeed
" were juſt, but this neceſſary: unleſs he did
" not take himſelf to be affected by it, for the
" hopes of ſharing the dominion with Antony:
" if ſo, he was doubly miſtaken; firſt for pre-
" ferring a private intereſt to the public; ſe-
" condly, for thinking any thing ſecure, or
" worth enjoying in a Tyranny —— that a re-
" gard for the ſafety of Citizens was a laudable
" principle, if he meant the good, the uſeful,
" the friends to their country; but if he meant
" to ſave thoſe, who, tho' Citizens by nature,
" were enemies by choice: what difference was
" there between him and ſuch Citizens?——
" that their Anceſtors had quite another notion
" of the care of Citizens; and when Scipio Na-
" ſica ſlew Tiberius Gracchus, when Opimius
" ſlew Caius Gracchus, when Marius killed Sa-
" turninus, they were all followed by the great-
" eſt and the beſt both of the Senate and the
" People

[z] Ibid. 3.

"People——that the difference between Ca- A. Urb. 710.
"lenus's opinion and his was not trifling, or Cic. 64.
"about a trifling matter; the wishing well one- Coss.
"ly to this or that man: that he wished well to C. VIBIUS
"Brutus; Calenus to Antony; he wished to PANSA.
"see a Colony of *Rome* preserved; Calenus to A. HIRTIUS.
"see it stormed: that Calenus could not deny
"this, who was contriving all sorts of delay,
"which could distress Brutus, and strengthen
"Antony—[*a*]." He then addressed himself
"to the other Consulars, and reproached them
"for their shameful behaviour the day before,
"in voting for a second Embassy, and said, that
"when the Embassadors were sent against his
"judgment, he comforted himself with ima-
"gining, that as soon as they should return,
"despised and rejected by Antony, and inform
"the Senate, that he would neither retire from
"*Gaul*, nor quit the siege of *Modena*, nor even
"suffer them to speak with Brutus; that out of
"indignation they should all arm themselves
"immediately in the defence of Brutus; but on
"the contrary, they were grown more dispirit-
"ed to hear of Antony's audaciousness; and
"their Embassadors, instead of courage, which
"they ought to have brought, had brought
"back nothing but fear to them—[*b*]. Good
"Gods, says he, what is become of the virtue
"of our Ancestors?——When Popilius was
"sent Embassador to *Antiochus*, and ordered
"him, in the name of the Senate, to depart
"from *Alexandria*, which he was then besieg-
"ing; upon the King's deferring to answer,
"and contriving delays, he drew a circle round
"him with his staff, and bad him give his an-

[*a*] Ibid. 4—6. [*b*] Ibid. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" ſwer inſtantly, before he ſtirred out of that
" place, or he would return to the Senate with-
" out it——he then recites and ridicules the
" ſeveral demands made by Antony; their ar-
" rogance, ſtupidity, abſurdity: and [*c*] re-
" proves Piſo and Philip, men of ſuch dignity,
" for the meanneſs of bringing back conditions,
" when they were ſent onely to carry com-
" mands——he complains, that they paid
" more reſpect to Antony's Embaſſador, Co-
" tyla, than he to theirs: for inſtead of ſhut-
" ting the gates of the City againſt him, as they
" ought to have done, they admitted him into
" that very Temple where the Senate then ſat;
" where, the day before, he was taking notes
" of what every man ſaid, and was careſſed,
" invited and entertained by ſome of the princi-
" pal Senators, who had too little regard to
" their dignity, too much to their danger. But
" what after all was the danger? which muſt
" end either in liberty or death, the one al-
" ways deſirable, the other unavoidable: while
" to fly from death baſely, was worſe than death
" itſelf——that it uſed to be the character of
" conſular Senators, to be vigilant, attentive,
" always thinking, doing, or propoſing ſome-
" thing for the good of the public: that he re-
" membred old Scævola in the *Marſic* war,
" how in the extremity of age, oppreſſed with
" years and infirmities, he gave free acceſs to
" every body; was never ſeen in his bed; al-
" ways the firſt in the Senate: he wiſhed that
" they all would imitate ſuch induſtry; or at
" leaſt not envy thoſe who did [*d*]: that ſince
" they had now ſuffered a *ſix years ſlavery*, a
" longer

[*c*] Ibid. 8, 9. [*d*] Ibid. 10.

" longer term than honeſt and induſtrious ſlaves A. Urb. 710.
" uſed to ſerve; what watchings, what ſollici- Cic. 64.
" tude, what pains ought they to refuſe, for the Coſſ.
" ſake of giving liberty to the *Roman* people?" C. VIBIUS PANSA.
He concludes, by adding a clauſe to their laſt A. HIRTIUS.
decree; " to grant pardon and impunity to all
" who ſhould deſert Antony, and return to their
" duty by the fifteenth of *March*: or if any who
" continued with him, ſhould do any ſervice
" worthy of reward; that one or both the Con-
" ſuls ſhould take the firſt opportunity to move
" the Senate in their favor: but if any perſon
" from this time ſhould go over to Antony,
" except Cotyla, that the Senate would conſi-
" der him as an enemy to his country."

THE public debates being thus adjuſted, Panſa called the Senate together again the next day, to deliberate on ſome proper honors to be decreed to the memory of Ser. Sulpicius, who died upon the Embaſſy—he ſpoke largely in his praiſe, and adviſed to pay him all the honors, which had ever been decreed to any, who had loſt their lives in the ſervice of the country: *a public funeral, ſepulcher, and ſtatue.* Servilius, who ſpoke next, agreed to *a funeral and monument*, but was againſt *a ſtatue*, as due onely to thoſe, *who had been killed by violence, in the diſcharge of their Embaſſies.* Cicero was not content with this, but out of private friendſhip to the man, as well as a regard to the public ſervice, reſolved to have all the honors paid to him, which the occaſion could poſſibly juſtify: in anſwer therefore to Servilius, he ſhewed with his uſual eloquence, that " the caſe of Sulpici-
" us was the ſame with the caſe of thoſe, who
" had been killed on the account of their Em-
" baſſies: that the Embaſſy itſelf had killed

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" him: that he ſet out upon it in ſo weak a
" condition, that though he had ſome hopes
" of coming to Antony, he had none of re-
" turning: and when he was juſt arrived to the
" congreſs, expired in the very act of executing
" his Commiſſion [*e*]: that it was not the man-
" ner, but the cauſe of the death, which their
" Anceſtors regarded: if it was cauſed by the
" Embaſſy, they granted a *public monument*, to
" encourage their fellow Citizens, in dangerous
" wars, to undertake that employment with
" chearfulneſs: that ſeveral ſtatues had been
" erected on that account; which none had ever
" merited better than Sulpicius——that there
" could be no doubt, but that the Embaſſy had
" killed him; and that he had carried out death
" along with him, which he might have eſcaped
" by ſtaying at home, under the care of his wife
" and children——[*f*]. But when he ſaw,
" that if he did not obey the authority of the
" Senate, he ſhould be unlike to himſelf; and
" if he did obey, muſt neceſſarily loſe his life;
" he choſe in ſo critical a ſtate of the Repub-
" lic, rather to die, than ſeem to decline any
" ſervice, which he could poſſibly do: that he
" had many opportunities of refreſhing and re-
" poſing himſelf in the Cities, through which
" he paſſed, and was preſſed to it by his Col-
" legues; but in ſpite of his diſtemper, perſe-
" vered to death in the reſolution of urging his
" journey, and haſtening to perform the com-
" mands of the Senate——that, if they recol-
" lected, how he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf
" from the taſk, when it was firſt moved in the
" Senate, they muſt needs think, that this ho-
" nor

[*e*] Phil. 9. 1. [*f*] Ibid. 3.

" nor to him, when dead, was but a neceſſary A. Urb. 710.
" amends for the injury, which they had done Cic. 64.
" to him, when living: for, though it was Coſſ.
" harſh to be ſaid, yet he muſt ſay it; that it C. VIBIUS
" was they, who had killed him, by over-ruling PANSA.
" his excuſe, when they ſaw it grounded, not A. HIRTIUS.
" on a feigned, but a real ſickneſs: and when
" to their remonſtrance, the Conſul Panſa join-
" ed his exhortation, with a gravity and force
" of ſpeech, which his ears had not learnt to
" bear; then, ſays he, he took his Son and
" me aſide, and profeſſed, that he could not
" help preferring your authority to his own
" life: we, through admiration of his virtue,
" durſt not venture to oppoſe his will: his Son
" was tenderly moved, nor was my concern
" much leſs; yet both of us were obliged to
" give way to the greatneſs of his mind, and
" the force of his reaſoning; when to the joy
" of you all he promiſed, that he would do
" whatever you preſcribed, nor would decline the
" danger of that vote, of which he himſelf had
" been the propoſer—— reſtore life therefore to
" him, from whom you have taken it: for the
" life of the dead is in the memory of the li-
" ving: take care, that he, whom you unwil-
" lingly ſent to his death, receive an immorta-
" lity from you: for if you decree a ſtatue to
" him in the Roſtra, the remembrance of his
" Embaſſy will remain to all poſterity—[g]."
Then after illuſtrating the great virtues, talents, and excellent character of Sulpicius, he obſerves, " that all theſe would be perpetuated by their
" own merit and effects, and that the ſtatue
" was the monument rather of the gratitude of

[g] Ibid. 4, 5.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" the Senate than of the fame of the man; of " a public, rather than of a private ſignificati- " on; an eternal teſtimony of Antony's audaci- " ouſneſs; of his waging an impious war a- " gainſt his country; of his rejecting the Em- " baſſy of the Senate —— [*b*]." For which reaſons, he propoſed a decree, " that a ſtatue " of braſs ſhould be erected to him in the Ro- " ſtra, by order of the Senate, and the cauſe " inſcribed on the baſe; *that he died in the ſer- " vice of the Republic*; with an area of five feet " on all ſides of it, for his children and poſte- " rity to ſee the ſhews of Gladiators —— that " a magnificent funeral ſhould be made for him " at the public charge; and the Conſul Panſa " ſhould aſſign him a place of burial, in the " Eſquiline field, with an area of thirty feet e- " very way, to be granted publicly, as a ſe- " pulcher for him, his children and poſteri- " ty."—The Senate agreed to what Cicero deſired; and the ſtatue itſelf, as we are told by a writer of *the third Century*, remained to his time, *in the Roſtra of* Auguſtus [*i*].

SULPICIUS was of a noble and *patrician* family, of the ſame age, the ſame ſtudies, and the ſame principles with Cicero, with whom he kept up a perpetual friendſhip. *They went through their exerciſes together when young, both at* Rome, *and at* Rhodes, *in the celebrated ſchool of* Molo: whence he became an eminent Pleader of cauſes, and paſſed through all the great offices of the ſtate, with a ſingular reputation of wiſdom, learning, integrity; a conſtant admirer of the modeſty of the ancients; and a reprover of the inſolence of his own time. When he

[*b*] Ibid. 5, 6. [*i*] Pomponius de Origine juris.

he could not arrive at the first degree of fame, as an *Orator*, he resolved to excell in what was next to it, the character of a *Lawyer*; chusing rather to be *the first, in the second art, than the second onely in the first:* leaving therefore to his friend Cicero the field of eloquence, he contented himself with such a share of it, *as was sufficient to sustain and adorn the profession of the law.* In this he succeeded to his wish; and was *far superior to all, who had ever professed it in* Rome; *being the first,* who reduced it *to a proper science, or rational System; and added light and method to that, which all others before him, had taught darkly and confusedly.* Nor was his knowledge confined to the external forms, or the effects of the Municipal Laws: but enlarged by a comprehensive view *of universal equity,* which he made the interpreter of its sanctions, and the rule of all his decisions; yet he was always better pleased *to put an amicable end to a controversy, than to direct a process at law.* In his political behaviour he was always a friend to peace and liberty; moderating the violence of opposite parties, and discouraging every step towards civil dissension; and, in the late war, was so busy in contriving projects of an accommodation, that he gained the name of *the Peace Maker.* Through a natural timidity of temper, confirmed by a profession and course of life averse from arms, though he preferred Pompey's cause as the best, he did not care to fight for it; but taking Cæsar's to be the strongest, suffered his son to follow that camp, while he himself continued quiet and neuter: for this he was honored by Cæsar, yet could never be induced to approve his government. From the time of Cæsar's death, he continued still to advise and promote all mea-

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

ſures, which ſeemed likely to eſtabliſh the public concord; and died at laſt, as he had lived, in the very act and office of *peace making* [*k*].

THE

[*k*] Non facile quem dixerim plus Studii quam illum & ad dicendum, & ad omnes bonarum rerum diſciplinas adhibuiſſe: nam & in iiſdem exercitationibus ineunte ætate fuimus; & poſtea Rhodum una ille etiam profectus eſt, quo melior eſſet & doctior: & inde ut rediit, videtur mihi in ſecunda arte primus eſſe maluiſſe, quam in prima ſecundus—ſed fortaſſe maluit, id quod eſt adeptus, longe omnium non ejuſdem modo ætatis, ſed eorum etiam qui fuiſſent, in jure civili eſſe princeps—juris civilis magnum uſum & apud Scævolam & apud multos fuiſſe, artem in hoc uno—hic enim attulit hanc artem—quaſi lucem ad ea, quæ confuſe ab aliis aut reſpondebantur aut agebantur — [Brut. 262, &c.] neque ille magis Juris conſultus, quam juſtitiæ fuit: ita ea quæ proficiſcebantur a legibus & a jure civili ſemper ad facilitatem æquitatemq; referebant: neque conſtituere litium actiones malebat, quam controverſias tollere. [Phil. 9. 5.] Servius vero Pacificator cum ſuo libariolo videtur obiiſſe legationem. [Ad Att. 15. 7.] cognoram enim jam abſens, te hæc mala multo ante providentem, defenſorem pacis & in Conſulatu tuo & poſt Conſulatum fuiſſe. [Ep. fam. 4. 1.]

N. B. The old Lawyers tell a remarkable ſtory of the origin of Sulpicius's fame and ſkill in the law: that going one day to conſult Mucius Scævola about ſome point, he was ſo dull in apprehending the meaning of Mucius's anſwer, that after explaining it to him twice or thrice, Mucius could not forbear ſaying, *It is a ſhame for a Nobleman, and a Patrician, and a Pleader of cauſes, to be ignorant of that law, which he profeſſes to underſtand.* The reproach ſtung him to the quick, and made him apply himſelf to his ſtudies with ſuch induſtry, that he became the ableſt Lawyer in *Rome*; and left behind him *near a hundred and eighty books* written by himſelf on nice and difficult queſtions of law. Digeſt. l. 1. Tit. 2. parag. 43.—

The Jeſuits Catrou and Rouille have put this Sulpicius into the liſt of the Conſpirators, who killed Cæſar: but a moderate acquaintance with the character of the man, or with Cicero's *writings*, would have ſhewn them their error, and that there was none of Conſular rank, but Trebonius, concerned in that affair. Hiſt. Rom. Vol. 17. p. 343. Not. a.

THE Senate had heard nothing of Brutus and Caſſius from the time of their leaving *Italy*, till Brutus now ſent public Letters *to the Conſuls*, giving a particular account of his ſucceſs againſt "Antony's brother Caius, in ſecuring *Macedo-* "*nia*, *Illyricum*, and *Greece*, with all the ſe- "veral armies in thoſe countries to the intereſts "of the Republic: that C. Antony was retired "to *Apollonia*, with ſeven cohorts; where a "good account would ſoon be given of him: "that a Legion under L. Piſo had ſurrendered "itſelf to young Cicero, the Commander of his "Horſe: that Dolabella's Horſe, which was "marching in two ſeparate bodies towards *Sy-* "*ria*, the one in *Theſſaly*, the other in *Mace-* "*donia*, had deſerted their Leaders, and join- "ed themſelves to him: that Vatinius had o- "pened the gates of *Dyrrhachium* to him, and "given up the Town with his troops into his "hands: that in all theſe tranſactions, Q. Hor- "tenſius, the Proconſul of *Macedonia*, had been "particularly ſerviceable, in diſpoſing the Pro- "vinces and their armies to declare for the "cauſe of liberty [*l*]."

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

PANSA no ſooner received the letters, than he ſummoned the Senate, to acquaint them with the contents; which raiſed *an incredible joy through the whole City* [*m*]: after the letters were read, Panſa ſpoke largely *in the praiſes of Brutus*; *extolled his conduct and ſervices*; *and moved, that public honors and thanks ſhould be decreed to him:* and then according to his cuſtom, called upon his Father in law Calenus, to declare his ſentiments

[*l*] Vid. Philip. x. 4, 5, 6.

[*m*] Dii immortales! qui lætitia Senatus, quæ alacritas civitatis erat?—Ad ille nuncius, quæ illæ litteræ, Brut. l. 2. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

ſentiments the firſt: who, in a premeditated ſpeech, delivered from writing, "acknowledged Brutus's letters to be well and properly drawn; but ſince what he had done, was done without any commiſſion and public authority, that he ſhould be required to deliver up his forces to the orders of the Senate, or the proper Governors of the Provinces——[*n*]." Cicero ſpoke next, "and began with giving the thanks of the Houſe to Panſa, for calling them together on that day, when they had no expectation of it; and not deferring a moment to give them a ſhare of the joy, which Brutus's letters had brought. He obſerves, that Panſa, by ſpeaking ſo largely in the praiſe of Brutus, had ſhewn that to be true, which he had always taken to be ſo, *that no man ever envied another's virtue, who was conſcious of his own*: that he had prevented him, to whom, for his intimacy with Brutus, the taſk ſeemed particularly to belong, from ſaying ſo much, as he intended, on that ſubject"——then addreſſing himſelf to Calenus, he aſks, "What could be the meaning of that perpetual war, which he declared againſt the Brutus's? why he alone was always oppoſing, when every one elſe was almoſt adoring them?—that to talk of Brutus's letters being rightly drawn, was not to praiſe Brutus, but his ſecretary—when did he ever hear of a decree in that ſtile, that Letters were properly written: yet the expreſſion did not fall from him by chance, but was deſigned, premeditated, and brought in writing——[*o*]. He exhorts him to conſult with

[*n*] Phil. x. 1, 2, 3. [*o*] Ibid. 2.

" with his ſon in law, Panſa, oftner than with A. Urb. 710.
" himſelf, if he would preſerve his character: Cic. 64.
" profeſſes that he could not help pitying him, Coſſ.
" to hear it given out among the people, that C. VIBIUS
" there was not a ſecond vote on the ſide of him, PANSA.
" who gave the firſt; which would be the A. HIRTIUS.
" caſe, he believed, in that day's debate.
" You would take away, ſays he, the Legions
" from Brutus, even thoſe which he has drawn
" off from the traiterous deſigns of C. Antony,
" and engaged by his own authority in the pub-
" lic ſervice: you would have him ſent once
" more, as it were, into Baniſhment, naked
" and forlorn: but for you, Fathers, if ever
" you betray, or deſert Brutus, what Citizen
" will you honor? whom will you favour? un-
" leſs you think thoſe, who offer Kingly Dia-
" dems, worthy to be preſerved; thoſe who
" aboliſh the name of King, to be abandoned.
" He proceeds to diſplay with great force the
" merit and praiſes of Brutus; his moderation,
" mildneſs, patience of injuries: how ſtudiouſly
" he had avoided every ſtep, which could give
" a handle to civil tumults; quitting the City;
" living retired in the Country; forbidding the
" reſort of friends to him; and leaving *Italy* it-
" ſelf, leſt any cauſe of war ſhould ariſe on his
" account—that as long as he ſaw the Senate
" diſpoſed to bear every thing, he was reſolved
" to bear too; but when he perceived them in-
" ſpired with a ſpirit of liberty, he then exerted
" himſelf to provide them ſuccors to defend it
" —[*p*] that if he had not defeated the deſperate
" attempts of C. Antony, they had loſt *Mace-*
" *donia*, *Illyricum*, and *Greece*; the laſt of
" which

[*p*] Ibid. 3, 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" which afforded either a commodious retreat " to Antony, when driven out of *Italy*, or the " beſt opportunity of invading it: which now, " by Brutus's management, being ſtrongly pro- " vided with troops, ſtretched out it's arms, as " it were, and offered it's help to *Italy*." [q] " —That Caius's march through the Provin- " ces was, to plunder the allies, to ſcatter waſt " and deſolation where-ever he paſſed, to em- " ploy the armies of the *Roman* People againſt " the people themſelves: whereas Brutus made " it a law, whereſoever he came, to diſpenſe " light, hope, and ſecurity to all around him: " in ſhort, that the one gathered forces to pre- " ſerve, the other to overturn the Republic: " the ſoldiers themſelves could judge of this, " as well as the Senate; as they had declared, " by their deſertion of C. Antony, who by that " time either was, or would ſoon be Brutus's " priſoner [r]—that there was no apprehenſion " of danger from Brutus's power; that his Le- " gions, his Mercenaries, his Horſe, and above " all, himſelf was wholly theirs; formed for the " ſervice of the Republic, as well by his own ex- " cellent virtue, as a kind of fatality derived from " his Anceſtors, both on the Father's and the Mo- " ther's ſide—that none could ever blame him " for any thing, unleſs for too great a back- " wardneſs and averſion to war; and his not " humoring the ardor of all *Italy* in their eager " thirſt of liberty—that it was a vain fear, which " ſome pretended to entertain, that the Vete- " rans would be diſguſted to ſee Brutus at the " head of an army; as if there were any diffe- " rence between his army, and the armies of Hir- " tius,

[q] Ibid. 5. [r] Ibid. 6.

" tius, Panſa, D. Brutus, Octavius; all which A. Urb. 710.
" had ſeverally received public honors for Cic. 64.
" their defence of the people of *Rome*: that M. Coſſ.
" Brutus could not be more ſuſpected by the C. VIBIUS
" Veterans, than Decimus; for though the act PANSA.
" of the Brutus's, and the praiſe of it was com- A. HIRTIUS.
" mon to them both, yet thoſe, who diſap-
" proved it, were more angry with Decimus;
" as thinking him, of all others, the laſt, who
" ought to have done it, yet what were all their
" armies now doing, but relieving Decimus
" from the ſiege? [*s*]—that if there was any
" real danger from Brutus, Panſa's ſagacity
" would eaſily find it out: but as they had juſt
" now heard from his own mouth, he was ſo
" far from thinking his army to be dangerous,
" that he looked upon it as the firmeſt ſupport
" of the Commonwealth [*t*]—that it was the
" conſtant art of the diſaffected, to oppoſe the
" name of the Veterans to every good deſign:
" that he was always ready to encourage their
" valour, but would never endure their arro-
" gance. Shall we, ſays he, who are now
" breaking off the ſhackles of our ſervitude, be
" diſcouraged, if any one tells us, that the Ve-
" terans will not have it ſo?—let that then
" come out from me at laſt, which is true, and
" becoming my character to ſpeak; that if the
" reſolutions of this Body muſt be governed by
" the will of the Veterans; if all our words and
" acts muſt be regulated by their humor, then
" it is high time to wiſh for death; which to
" *Roman* Citizens was ever preferable to ſlave-
" ry [*u*]—that ſince ſo many chances of death
" ſurrounded

[*s*] Ibid. 7. [*t*] Ibid. 8.
[*u*] Ibid. 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" ſurrounded them all both day and night, it " was not the part of a man, much leſs of a " *Roman*, to ſcruple the giving up that breath " to his Country, which he muſt neceſſarily " give up to nature [*x*]—that Antony was the " ſingle and common enemy of them all; " though he had indeed his brother Lucius with " him, who ſeemed to be born on purpoſe, " that Marcus might not be the moſt infamous of " all mortals: that he had a crew alſo of deſpe- " rate Villains gaping after the ſpoils of the Re- " public—that the army of Brutus was provi- " ded againſt theſe; whoſe ſole will, thought, " and purpoſe was, to protect the Senate and " the liberty of the people—who after trying " in vain, what patience would do, found it ne- " ceſſary at laſt to oppoſe force to force [*y*]— " that they ought therefore to grant the ſame " privilege to M. Brutus, which they had grant- " ed before to Decimus and to Octavius; and " confirm by public authority, what he had " been doing for them by his private counſil." —For which purpoſe he propoſed the following decree—" whereas by the pains, counſil, in- " duſtry, virtue of Q. Cæpio Brutus [*z*], Pro- " conſul, in the utmoſt diſtreſs of the Republic, " the Province of *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, and " *Greece*, with all their Legions, Armies, " Horſe, are now in the power of the Conſuls, " Senate and People of *Rome*; that Q. Cæpio " Brutus Proconſul, has acted therein well, and " for the good of the Republic; agreeably to " his

[*x*] Ibid. 10.

[*y*] Ibid. 11.

[*z*] M. Brutus, as appears from the ſtile of his decree, had been adopted lately by his Mother's brother, Q. Servilius Cæpio, whoſe name, according to cuſtom, he now aſſumed with the poſſeſſion of his Uncle's eſtate.

" his character, the dignity of his anceſtors, and A. Urb. 710.
" to his uſual manner of ſerving the Common- Cic. 64.
" wealth; and that his conduct is and ever will Coſſ.
" be acceptable to the Senate and People of C. VIBIUS
" *Rome.* That Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconſul, PANSA.
" be ordered, to protect, guard, and defend A. HIRTIUS.
" the province of *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, and all
" *Greece*; and command that army, which he
" himſelf has raiſed: that whatever money he
" wants for military ſervice, he may uſe and
" take it from any part of the public revenues,
" where it can beſt be raiſed; or borrow it
" where he thinks proper; and impoſe contri-
" butions of grain and forage; and take care to
" draw all his troops as near to *Italy* as poſſible:
" and whereas it appears by the Letters of Q.
" Cæpio Brutus Proconſul, that the public ſer-
" vice has been greatly advanced, by the En-
" deavours and Virtue of Q. Hortenſius Pro-
" conſul; and that he concerted all his mea-
" ſures with Q. Cæpio Brutus Proconſul, to the
" great benefit of the commonwealth; that Q.
" Hortenſius Proconſul, has acted therein right-
" ly, regularly, and for the public good; and
" that it is the will of the Senate, that Q. Hor-
" tenſius Proconſul, with his Quæſtors, Pro-
" quæſtors, and Lieutenants, hold the Province
" of *Macedonia*, till a ſucceſſor be appointed by
" the Senate."

CICERO ſent this ſpeech to Brutus, with that alſo, which he made on the firſt of *January*; of which Brutus ſays in anſwer to him, " I
" have read your two orations, the one on the
" firſt of *January*, the other on the ſubject of
" my letters, againſt Calenus: you expect now,
" without doubt, that I ſhould praiſe them:
" I am at a loſs what to praiſe the moſt in them;

" your

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

"your courage, or your abilities: I allow you "now in earnest to call them *Philippics*, as you "intimated jocosely in a former Letter [*a*]." —Thus the name of *Philippics*, which seems to have been thrown out at first in gayety and jest onely, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became at last the fixt and standing title of these orations: which yet for several ages, were called, we find, indifferently either *Philippics* or *Antonians* [*b*]. Brutus declared himself so well pleased with these two, which he had seen, *that Cicero promised to send him afterwards all the rest* [*c*].

BRUTUS, when he first left *Italy*, sailed directly for *Athens*; where he spent some time in concerting measures, how to make himself master of *Greece* and *Macedonia*; which was the great design that he had in view. Here he gathered about him all the young Nobility and Gentry of *Rome*, who, for the opportunity of their education, had been sent to this celebrated seat of learning: but of them all, he took the most notice of young Cicero; and after a little acquaintance, grew very fond of him; *admiring his parts and virtue, and surprized to find in one so young, such a generosity and greatness of mind, with such an aversion to Tyranny* [*d*]. He made him

[*a*] Legi orationes tuas duas, quarum altera Kal. Jan. usus es; altera de litteris meis, quæ habita est abs te contra Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui major in illis libellis laus contineatur. Jam concedo, ut vel *Philippicæ* vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola jocans scripsisti. Ad Brut. l. 2. 5.

[*b*] M. Cicero in primo Antonianarum ita scriptum reliquit. A. Gell. 13. 1.

[*c*] Hæc ad te Oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris. Ad Brut. 2. 4.

[*d*] Vid. Plutar. in Brut.

him therefore one of his Lieutenants, tho' he was but *twenty years old*; gave him *the command of his Horſe*; and employed him in ſeveral commiſſions of great truſt and importance; in all which the young man ſignalized both his courage and conduct; and behaved with great credit to himſelf, great ſatisfaction to his General, and great benefit to the public ſervice; as Brutus did him the juſtice to ſignify both in his private and public Letters to *Rome*. In writing to Cicero, "Your ſon, ſays he, recommends himſelf to me ſo effectually by his induſtry, patience, activity, greatneſs of mind, and in ſhort, by every duty, that he ſeems never to drop the remembrance of whoſe ſon he is: wherefore ſince it is not poſſible for me to make you love him more than you do already, yet allow thus much to my judgment, as to perſuade yourſelf, that he will have no occaſion to borrow any ſhare of your glory, in order to obtain his Father's honors—[*e*]." This account given by one, who was no flatterer, may be concluded as the real character of the youth: which is confirmed likewiſe by what Lentulus wrote of him about the ſame time: "I could not ſee your ſon, ſays he, when I was laſt with Brutus, becauſe he was gone with the horſe into winter quarters: but by my faith, it gives me great joy for your ſake,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

[*e*] Cicero filius tuus ſic mihi ſe probat, induſtria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorſus nunquam dimittere videtur cogitationem, cujus ſit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non poſſum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi eſt cariſſimus, illud tribue judicio meo, ut tibi perſuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiſcatur honores paternos. Kal. Apr. ad Brut. l. 2. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" for his, and eſpecially my own, that he is in " ſuch eſteem and reputation: for as he is your " ſon, and worthy of you, I cannot but look " upon him as my brother [*f*]."

CICERO was ſo full of the greater affairs, which were the ſubject of his Letters to Brutus, that he had ſcarce leiſure to take notice of what was ſaid about his ſon: he juſt touches it however, in one or two Letters: " As to my Son, " if his merit be as great as you write, I re- " joice at it as much as I ought to do: or if " you magnify it, out of love to him, even " that gives me an incredible joy, to perceive, " that he is beloved by you [*g*]. Again; I " deſire you, my dear Brutus, to keep my ſon " with you as much as poſſible: he will find no " better ſchool of virtue, than in the contem- " plation and imitation of you [*h*]."

THOUGH Brutus intimated nothing in his public Letters, but what was proſperous and encouraging, yet in his private accounts to Cicero, he ſignified *a great want of money and recruits*, and begged to be ſupplied with both from *Italy*, eſpecially with recruits; either by a vote of the Senate, or if that could not be had, by

[*f*] Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui, ideo quod jam in hiberna, cum equitibus erat profectus. Sed mediocriter fidius ea eſſe eum opinione, & tua & ipſius, & in primis mea cauſa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi eſt, qui ex te natus, teque dignus eſt. Vale. III. Kal. Jun. Ep. fam. 12. 14.

[*g*] De Cicerone meo, & ſi tantum eſt in eo, quantum ſcribis, tantum ſcilicet quantum debeo, gaudeo: & ſi, quod amas eum, eo majora facis; id ipſum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum deligi. Ad Brut. 2. 6.

[*h*] Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas. Virtutis diſciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. XIII. Kal. Maii. ib. 7.

by ſome ſecret management, without the privity of Panſa; to which Cicero anſwered, "You "tell me, that you want two neceſſary things, "recruits and money: it is difficult to help "you. I know no other way of raiſing mo- "ney which can be of uſe to you, but what "the Senate has decreed, of borrowing it from "the Cities. As to recruits, I do not ſee what "can be done: for Panſa is ſo far from grant- "ing any ſhare of his army or recruits to you, "that he is even uneaſy to ſee ſo many volun- "tiers going over to you: his reaſon, I take "it, is, that he thinks no forces too great for "the demands of our affairs in *Italy*: for as to "what many ſuſpect, that he has no mind to "ſee you too ſtrong, I have no ſuſpicion of "it [*i*]."——Panſa ſeems to have been much in the right, for refuſing to part with any troops out of *Italy*, where the ſtreſs of the war now lay, on the ſucceſs of which the fate of the whole Republic depended. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

BUT there came news of a different kind about the ſame time to *Rome*, *of Dolabella's ſucceſsful exploits in* Aſia. He left the City, as it is ſaid above, before the expiration of his Conſulſhip, to poſſeſs himſelf of *Syria*; which had been

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[*i*] Quod egere te duabus neceſſariis rebus ſcribis, ſupplemento & pecunia, difficile conſilium eſt. Non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te poſſe videam, præter illas, quas Senatus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas ſumeres. De ſupplemento autem non video, quid fieri poſſit. Tantum enim abeſt ut Panſa de exercitu ſuo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleſte ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios: quomodo equidem credo, quod his rebus quæ in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis magnas arbitretur: quomodo autem multi ſuſpicantur, quod ne te quidem nimis firmum eſſe velit; quod ego non ſuſpicor. Ibid. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

been allotted to him by Antony's management: and taking his way through *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to gather what money and troops he could raiſe in thoſe countries, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, in hopes of inducing that Province to abandon Trebonius, and declare for him: having ſent his Emiſſaries therefore before him to prepare for his reception, he arrived before *Smyrna*, where Trebonius reſided, without any ſhew of hoſtility, or forces ſufficient to give any great alarm, pretending to deſire nothing more, than a free paſſage through the Country to his own Province. Trebonius refuſed to admit him into the Town; but conſented *to ſupply him with refreſhments without the gates:* where many civilities paſſed between them, with great profeſſions on Dolabella's part of amity and friendſhip to Trebonius, who promiſed in his turn, *that if Dolabella would depart quietly from* Smyrna, *he ſhould be received into* Epheſus, *in order to paſs forward toward* Syria. To this Dolabella ſeemingly agreed: and finding it impracticable to take *Smyrna* by open force, contrived to ſurprize it by ſtratagem: embracing therefore Trebonius's offer, he ſet forwards towards *Epheſus*; but after he had marched ſeveral miles, and Trebonius's men, who were ſent after to obſerve him, were retired; turned back inſtantly in the night, and arriving again at *Smyrna* before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehenſion of an aſſault; ſo that his ſoldiers, by the help of ladders, preſently mounting the walls, poſſeſſed themſelves of it without oppoſition, and ſeized Trebonius *himſelf in his bed, before he knew any thing of his danger* [*k*].

DOLABELLA

[*k*] Appian. 3. p. 542.

DOLABELLA treated him with the utmoſt cruelty; *kept him two days under torture, to extort a diſcovery of all the money in his cuſtody; then ordered his head to be cut off, and carried about on a Spear; and his body to be dragged about the ſtreets, and thrown into the ſea* [*l*]. This was the firſt blood, that was ſpilt, on the account of Cæſar's death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal Conſpirators, and the onely one, who was of *Conſular rank.* It had been projected without doubt in concert with Antony, to make the revenge of Cæſar's death the avowed cauſe of their arms, in order to draw the Veterans to their ſide, or make them unwilling at leaſt to act againſt them: and it gave a clear warning to Brutus, and his aſſociates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a ſad preſage to all honeſt men of the cruel effects and mercileſs fury of the impending war. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

ON the news of Trebonius's death, the Senate was ſummoned by the Conſul, where Dolabella was unanimouſly declared *a public enemy, and his eſtate confiſcated.* Calenus himſelf firſt propoſed the vote, and ſaid, *that if any thing more ſevere could be thought of, he would be for it:* the indignation of the City was ſo inflamed,

[*l*] Conſecutus eſt Dolabella, nulla ſuſpicione belli. —Secutæ collocutiones familiares cum Trebonio; complexuſque ſummæ benevolentiæ— nocturnus introitus in Smyrnam, quaſi in hoſtium urbem: oppreſſus Trebonius —interficere captum ſtatim noluit, ne nimis credo, in victoria liberalis videretur. Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum inceſto ore laceraſſet, tum verberibus ac tormentis quæſtionem habuit pecuniæ publicæ, idque per biduum. Poſt cervicibus fractis caput abſcidit, idque adfixum geſtari juſſit in pilo; reliquum corpus tractum ac laniatum abjecit in mare, &c. Phil. xi. 2, 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

that he was forced to comply with the popular humor, and hoped perhaps to put ſome difficulty upon Cicero, who, for his relation to Dolabella, would, as he imagined, be for moderating the puniſhment. But tho' Calenus was miſtaken in this, he was concerned in moving another queſtion, which greatly perplexed Cicero, about *the choice of a General*, to manage this new war againſt Dolabella. Two opinions were propoſed; the one, *that* P. Servilius *ſhould be ſent with an extraordinary Commiſſion: the other, that the two Conſuls ſhould jointly proſecute the war, with the Provinces of* Syria *and* Aſia *allotted to them.* This was very agreeable to Panſa, and puſhed therefore not onely by his friends, but by all Antony's party, who fancied, that it would take off the attention of the Conſuls from the war of *Italy*; give Dolabella time to ſtrengthen himſelf in *Aſia*; raiſe a coldneſs between *the Conſuls and* Cicero, if he ventured to oppoſe it; and above all, put a public affront upon Caſſius; who by his preſence in thoſe parts, ſeemed to have the beſt pretenſion to that commiſſion. The debate continued thro' the firſt day, without coming to any iſſue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean while Caſſius's *mother in law*, Servilia, and other friends were endeavouring to prevail with Cicero to drop the oppoſition, for fear of alienating Panſa: but in vain; for he reſolved at all hazards to defend the honor of Caſſius: and when the debate was reſumed the next morning, exerted all his intereſt and eloquence to procure a decree in his favor.

HE began his ſpeech by obſerving, "that "in their preſent grief for the lamentable fate "of Trebonius, the Republic however would "reap

" reap ſome good from it, ſince they now ſaw A. Urb. 710.
" the barbarous cruelty of thoſe, who had ta- Cic. 64.
" ken arms againſt their country: for of the Coſſ.
" two Chiefs of the preſent war, the one, by C. VIBIUS
" effecting what he wiſhed, had diſcovered what PANSA.
" the other aimed at [*m*]. That they both A. HIRTIUS.
" meant nothing leſs than the death and de-
" ſtruction of all honeſt men; nor would be
" ſatisfied, it ſeemed, with ſimple death, for
" that was the puniſhment of nature, but thought
" *the rack and tortures* due to their revenge—
" that what Dolabella had executed, was the
" picture of what Antony intended: that they
" were a true pair, exactly matched, marching
" by concert and equal paces in the execution
" of their wicked purpoſes"——this he illu-
ſtrates by parallel inſtances from the conduct of each; and after diſplaying the inhumanity of Dolabella, and the unhappy fate of Trebonius, in a manner proper to excite indignation againſt the one, and compaſſion for the other; he ſhews, " that Dolabella was
" ſtill the more unhappy of the two, and muſt
" needs ſuffer more from the guilt of his mind,
" than Trebonius from the Tortures of his bo-
" dy——what doubt, ſays he, can there be
" which of them is the moſt miſerable? he
" whoſe death the Senate and People are eager
" to revenge; or he, who is adjudged to be a
" traitor by the unanimous vote of the Senate;
" for in all other reſpects, it is the greateſt in-
" jury to Trebonius, to compare his life with
" Dolabella's. As to the one, every body
" knows his wiſdom, wit, humanity, innocence,
" greatneſs of mind in freeing his country; but

[*m*] Phil. xi. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" as to the other, cruelty was his delight from " a boy, with a lewdneſs ſo ſhameleſs and aban- " doned, that he uſed to value himſelf for do- " ing, what his very adverſaries could not ob- " ject to him with modeſty. Yet this man, " good Gods! was once mine: for I was not " very curious to enquire into his vices; nor " ſhould I now perhaps have been his enemy, " had he not ſhewn himſelf an enemy to you, " to his country, to the domeſtic Gods and " Altars of us all; nay, even to nature and hu- " manity itſelf [*n*]. He exhorts them, from " this warning given by Dolabella, to act with " the greater vigor againſt Antony: for if he, " who had about him but a few of thoſe capital " incendiaries, the ringleaders of rapine and re- " bellion, durſt attempt an act ſo abominable, " what barbarity were they not to expect from " Antony, who had the whole crew of them in " his camp;—— the principal of whom he deſcribes by name and character; and adds, " that as he had often diſſented unwillingly from " Caſenus, ſo now at laſt he had the pleaſure to " agree with him, and to let them ſee that he " had no diſlike to the man, but to the cauſe; " that in this caſe, he not onely concurred with " him, but thanked him for propounding a vote " ſo ſevere, and worthy the Republic, in de- " creeing Dolabella an enemy, and his eſtate to " be confiſcated [*o*]."—Then as to the ſecond point, which was of greater delicacy, *the nomination of a General to be ſent againſt* Dolabella, he procedes to give his reaſons for rejecting the two opinions propoſed; the one, *for ſending* Servilius, *the other, for the two Conſuls*——of the

[*n*] Ibid. 4. [*o*] Ibid. 5, 6.

the firſt, he ſays, " that extraordinary com- A. Urb. 710.
" miſſions were always odious, where they were Cic. 64.
" not neceſſary: and where ever they had been Coſſ.
" granted, it was in caſes very different from C. VIBIUS
" this —— that if the commiſſion in debate PANSA.
" ſhould be decreed to Servilius, it would ſeem A. HIRTIUS.
" an affront to all the reſt of the ſame rank,
" that being equal in dignity, they ſhould be
" thought unworthy of the ſame honor——
" that he himſelf indeed had voted an extraor-
" dinary commiſſion to young Cæſar; but
" Cæſar had firſt given an extraordinary pro-
" tection and deliverance to them: that they
" muſt either have taken his army from him,
" or decree the command of it to him; which
" could not therefore be ſo properly ſaid to be
" given, as not taken away: but that no ſuch
" commiſſion had ever been granted to any one,
" who was wholly idle and unemployed [*p*].—
" to the ſecond opinion, of decreeing that
" Province to the Conſuls, he ſhews it to be
" both againſt the dignity of the Conſuls them-
" ſelves, and againſt the public ſervice: that
" when D. Brutus, a Conſul elect, was actually
" beſieged, on the preſervation of whom their
" common ſafety depended; and when a dread-
" ful war was on foot, already intruſted to the
" two Conſuls, the very mention of *Aſia* and
" *Syria* would give a handle to jealouſy and
" envy; and tho' the decree was not to take
" place till D. Brutus ſhould firſt be relieved,
" yet a new commiſſion would neceſſarily take
" off ſome part of their thoughts and attention
" from the old. Then addreſſing himſelf to
" Panſa, he ſays, that tho' his mind, he knew,
" was

[*p*] Ibid. 7, 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" was intent on delivering D. Brutus, yet the " nature of things would force him, to turn it " ſometimes towards Dolabella: and that, if " he had more minds than one, they ſhould all " be directed and wholly fixt on *Modena* [*q*]: " that for his own part, he had reſigned in his " Conſulſhip a rich and well furniſhed Province, " that nothing might interrupt his endeavours to " quench that flame, which was then raiſed in his " country: he wiſhed that Panſa would imitate " him, whom he uſed to commend; that if the " Conſuls however deſired to have provinces, as " other great men had uſually done, let them " firſt bring D. Brutus ſafe home to them: who " ought to be guarded with the ſame care, as the " image that fell from Heaven, and was kept in " the temple of *Veſta*, in the ſafety of which " they were all ſafe. That this decree would " create great delay and obſtruction to the war " againſt Dolabella; which required a General " prepared, equipped, and already inveſted with " command: one, who had authority, reputa- " tion, an army, and a reſolution tried in the " ſervice of his country [*r*] —— that it muſt " therefore either be Brutus or Caſſius, or both " of them —— that Brutus could not be ſpared " from *Macedonia*, where he was quelling the " laſt efforts of the faction; and oppreſſing " C. Antony, who, with the remains of a " broken army, was ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome " conſiderable places: that when he had finiſh- " ed that work, if he found it of uſe to the " Commonwealth to purſue Dolabella, he " would do it himſelf, as he had hitherto " done, without waiting for their orders: for " both

[*q*] Ibid. 9. [*r*] Ibid. 10.

" both he and Caſſius had, on many occaſions, A. Urb. 710,
" been a Senate to themſelves: that in ſuch a Cic. 64.
" ſeaſon of general confuſion, it was neceſſary Coſſ.
" to be governed by the times, rather than by C. VIBIUS PANSA,
" rules: that Brutus and Caſſius ever held the A. HIRTIUS,
" ſafety and liberty of their country, to be the
" moſt ſacred rule of acting [s]. For by what
" law, ſays he, by what right have they hi-
" therto been acting, the one in *Greece*, the o-
" ther in *Syria*; but by that, which Jupiter
" himſelf ordained, that all things beneficial to
" the Community ſhould be eſteemed lawful
" and juſt? for law is nothing elſe but right
" reaſon, derived to us from the Gods, injoin-
" ing what is honeſt, prohibiting the contrary:
" this was the law which Caſſius obeyed, when
" he went into *Syria*; another man's Province,
" if we judge by written law; but when theſe
" are overturned, his own, by the law of na-
" ture——but that Caſſius's acts might be
" confirmed alſo by the authority of the Senate,
" he propoſed a decree to this effect; that
" whereas the Senate has declared P. Dolabella
" to be an enemy of the *Roman* people, and
" ordered him to be purſued by open war; to
" the intent, that he may ſuffer the puniſhment
" due to him, both from Gods and men; it is
" the will of the Senate, that C. Caſſius, Pro-
" conſul, ſhall hold the Province of *Syria*, in
" the ſame manner, as if he had obtained it by
" right of law: and that he receive the ſeveral
" armies from Q. Marcius Criſpus Proconſul,
" L. Statius Murcus Proconſul, A. Allienus
" Lieutenant; which they are hereby required
" to deliver to him: that with theſe, and what
" other

[s] Ibid. 11.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" other forces he can procure, he ſhall purſue " Dolabella both by land and ſea: that for the " occaſions of the war, he ſhall have a power " to demand ſhips, ſeamen, money, and all " things uſeful to him, from whomſoever he " thinks fit, in *Syria*, *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*: " and that whatever Province he comes into in " proſecuting the war, he ſhall have an autho- " rity ſuperior to that of the proper Governor: " that if King Deiotarus, the Father, or the " Son, ſhall aſſiſt C. Caſſius, Proconſul, with " their troops, as they have oft aſſiſted the *Ro-* " *man* people in other wars, their conduct will " be acceptable to the Senate and People: that " if any of the other Kings, Tetrarchs and Po- " tentates ſhall do the like, the Senate and Peo- " ple will not be unmindful of their ſervices: " that as ſoon as the public affairs were ſettled, " C. Panſa and A. Hirtius the Conſuls, one or " both of them, ſhould take the firſt opportu- " nity of moving the Senate about the diſpoſal " of the Conſular and Prætorian Provinces, " and that in the mean while they ſhould all " continue in the hands of thoſe, who now held " them, till ſucceſſors were appointed by the " Senate [*t*]."

FROM the Senate, Cicero went directly into *the Forum*, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the intereſts of Caſſius: hither Panſa followed him, and to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the Citizens, that what Cicero contended for, was againſt the will and advice of Caſſius's near- eſt friends and relations —— of which Cicero gives the following account in a letter to Caſſius.

M.

[*t*] Ibid. 12, &c.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coss.
C. Vibius
Pansa.
A. Hirtius.

M. T. Cicero to C. Cassius.

" With what zeal I defended your dignity, both in the Senate and with the People, " I would have you learn rather from your " other friends, than from me. My opinion " would easily have prevailed in the Senate, " had not Pansa eagerly opposed it. After I " had proposed that vote, I was produced to " the people by Servilius, the Tribun, and " said every thing, which I could of you, with " a strength of voice, that filled the Forum; " and with such a clamor, and approbation of " the people, that I had never seen the like " before. You will pardon me I hope, for doing it against the will of your mother in law. " The timorous woman was afraid, that Pansa " would be disgusted. Pansa indeed declared " to the assembly, that both your mother and " brother were against it; but that did not " move me, I had other considerations more " at heart: my regard was to the Republic, to " which I have always wished well, and to " your dignity and glory. But there is one thing " which I enlarged upon in the Senate, and " mentioned also to the people, in which I " must desire you to make my words good: " for I promised, and in a manner assured " them, that you neither had, nor would wait " for our decrees; but would defend the Republic yourself in your own way: and though " we had heard nothing, either where you " were, or what forces you had; yet I took it " for granted, that all the forces in those parts " were yours; and was confident, that you had " already recovered the Province of *Asia* to the " Republic: let it be your care to outdo your-

" self,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" ſelf, in endeavouring ſtill to advance your " own glory. Adieu [*u*]."

As to the iſſue of the conteſt, ſome writers tell us, that it ended as Cicero deſired: but it is evident from the Letter, juſt recited, and more clearly ſtill from other Letters, that Panſa's authority prevailed againſt him, *for granting the commiſſion to the Conſuls* [*x*]. Caſſius however, as Cicero adviſed and declared, had little regard to what they were decreeing at *Rome*; but undertook the whole affair himſelf, and ſoon put an end to Dolabella's triumphs, as will be mentioned hereafter in it's proper place.

THE *Statue of Minerva*, which Cicero, upon his going into exil, had dedicated in the *Capitol*, by the title of *the Guardian of the City*, was, about the end of the laſt year, *thrown down and ſhattered to pieces by a tempeſt of thunder and lightning*. This the later writers take notice of, *as ominous, and portending the fall of* Cicero *himſelf:* tho' neither Cicero, nor any of that time, made any ſuch reflection upon it. The Senate however, out of reſpect to him, paſſed a decree in a full Houſe, on the eighteenth of *March*, *that the Statue ſhould be repaired, and reſtored to its place* [*y*]. So that it was now made by public authority, what he himſelf had deſigned it to be, a ſtanding monument to poſterity, that the ſafety of the Republic had been the conſtant object of his counſils.

D. BRUTUS

[*u*] Ep. fam. 12. 7.

[*x*] Quum Conſulibus decreta eſt Aſia, & permiſſum eſt iis, ut dum ipſi venirent; darent negotium qui ipſam obtineant, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 14.

[*y*] Eo die Senatus decrevit, ut Minerva noſtra, Cuſtos Urbis, quam turbo dejecerat, reſtitueretur. Ep. fam. 12. 25. Dio. l. 45. p. 278.

D. BRUTUS was reduced by this time to such straits in *Modena*, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that if he fell into Antony's hands, he would be treated no better than Trebonius. The mention therefore of a pacification being revived in the Senate, and recommended by Panſa himſelf, upon an intimation given by Antony's friends, that he was now in a diſpoſition to ſubmit to reaſon, Cicero, out of a concern for Brutus's ſafety, conſented *to the decree of a ſecond Embaſſy, to be executed by himſelf and* Servilius *together with three other Conſular Senators:* but finding upon recollection, that there appeared no ſymptoms of any change in Antony, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a falſe ſtep, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great uſe to Antony, as it would retard the attempts of relieving *Modena*, and give an opportunity to Ventidius to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with *three Legions.* At the next meeting therefore of the Senate, he retracted his opinion, and declared againſt the late decree, as dangerous and inſidious; and in a warm and pathetic ſpeech preſſed them to reſcind it. He owns, "that it was indecent for one, "whoſe authority they had ſo often followed in "the moſt important debates, to declare him-"ſelf miſtaken and deceived; yet his comfort "was, that it was in common with them all, "and with a Conſul of the greateſt wiſdom: "that when Piſo and Calenus, who knew An-"tony's ſecret, the one of whom entertained "his wife and children at his houſe, the other "was perpetually ſending and receiving Letters "from

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" from him, began to renew, what they had " long intermitted, their exhortations to peace; " and when the Conſul thought fit to exhort the " ſame thing, a man, whoſe prudence could " not eaſily be impoſed upon, whoſe virtue ap- " proved no peace, but on Antony's ſubmiſ- " ſion; whoſe greatneſs of mind preferred death " to ſlavery; it was natural to imagine, that " there was ſome ſpecial reaſon for all this; " ſome ſecret wound in Antony's affairs, which " the public was unacquainted with: eſpecially " when it was reported, that Antony's family " were under ſome unuſual affliction, and his " friends in the Senate betrayed a dejection in " their looks——for if there was nothing in it, " why ſhould Piſo and Calenus, above all " others; why at that time; why ſo unexpect- " edly, ſo ſuddenly move for peace? yet now, " when they had entangled the Senate in a pa- " cific Embaſſy, they both denied, that there " was any thing new or particular, which in- " duced them to it [z]: that there could be " no occaſion therefore for new meaſures, when " there was nothing new in the caſe itſelf—— " that they were drawn in, and deceived by " Antony's friends, who were ſerving his pri- " vate, not the public intereſt——that he had " ſeen it from the firſt, tho' but darkly; his " concern for Brutus having dazzled his eyes; " for whoſe liberty, if a ſubſtitute could be " accepted, he would freely offer himſelf to be " ſhut up in his place——that if Antony would " humble himſelf, and ſue to them for any " thing, he ſhould perhaps be for hearing him; " but while he ſtood to his arms, and acted " offen-

2

[z] Phil. xii. 1.

" offenſively, their buſineſs was to reſiſt force A. Urb. 710.
" by force——but they would tell him per- Ol. 64.
" haps, that the thing was not in their power, Coſſ. C. VIBIUS
" ſince an Embaſſy was actually decreed. But PANSA.
" what is it, ſays he, that is not free to the A. HIRTIUS.
" wiſe, which it is poſſible to retrieve? it is the
" caſe of every man to err, but the part onely
" of a fool to perſevere in error——if we
" have been drawn away by falſe and fallacious
" hopes, let us turn again into the way; for
" the ſureſt harbour to a penitent is a change
" of his conduct [*a*]. He then ſhews, how the
" Embaſſy, ſo far from being of ſervice, would
" certainly hurt, nay, had already hurt the Re-
" public; by checking the zeal of the Towns
" and Colonies of *Italy*; and the courage of
" the Legions, which had declared for them,
" who could never be eager to fight, while the
" Senate was ſounding a retreat [*b*].——That
" nothing was more unjuſt, than to determine
" any thing about peace, without the conſent
" of thoſe who were carrying on the war; and
" not onely without, but againſt their conſent:
" that Hirtius and Cæſar had no thoughts of
" peace; from whom he had letters then in his
" hands, declaring their hopes of victory: for
" their deſire was to conquer, and to acquire
" peace, not by treaty, but by victory [*c*].——
" That there could not poſſibly be any peace
" with one, to whom nothing could be grant-
" ed: they had voted him to have forged ſe-
" veral decrees of the Senate; would they vote
" them again to be genuin? they had annulled
" his laws, as made by violence; would they
" now conſent to reſtore them? they had de-

[*a*] Ibid. 2. [*b*] Ibid. 3. [*c*] Ibid. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" creed him to have embezzled five millions of " money; could such a waste be absolved from " a charge of fraud? that immunities, Priest- " hoods, Kingdoms, had been sold by him; " could those bargains be confirmed, which " their decrees had made void? [*d*]—That if " they should grant him the farther *Gaul* and " an army, what would it be else, but to defer " the war, not to make peace? nay, not onely " to prolong the war, but to yield him the vic- " tory [*e*].——Was it for this, says he, that " we have put on the robe of war, taken arms, " sent out all the youth of *Italy*; that with a " most flourishing and numerous army we should " send an Embassy at last for peace? and must " I bear a part in that Embassy, or assist in that " counsil, where, if I differ from the rest, the " people of *Rome* can never know it? so that " whatever concessions are made to Antony, or " whatever mischief he may do hereafter, it " must be at the hazard of my credit."—— He then shews, " that if an Embassy must needs " be sent, he, of all men, was the most impro- " per to be employed in it: that he had ever been " against an Embassy; was the mover of their " taking the habit of war; was always for the " severest proceedings both against Antony and " his associates——that all that party looked " upon him as prejudiced; and Antony would " be offended at the sight of him [*f*].—That " if they did not trouble themselves, how An- " tony might take it, he begged them at least " to spare him the pain of seeing Antony; which " he should never be able to bear: who in a " speech lately to his paricides, when he was " distributing

[*d*] Ibid. 5. [*e*] Ibid. 6. [*f*] Ibid. 7.

" distributing rewards to the boldest of them, A. Urb. 710.
" had promised Cicero's estate to Petissius—— Cic. 64.
" that he should never endure the sight of C. Vibius
" L. Antony; whose cruelty he could not have Pansa.
" escaped, but by the defence of his walls and A. Hirtius.
" gates, and the zeal of his native Town: that
" tho' he might be able to command himself,
" and dissemble his uneasiness at the sight of
" Antony and his crew, yet some regard should
" be had to his life; not that he set any value
" upon it himself, but it ought not to be thought
" despicable by the Senate and People of *Rome:*
" since, if he did not deceive himself, it was
" he who by his watchings, cares and votes,
" had managed matters so, that all the attempts
" of their enemies had not hitherto been able to
" do them any harm [*g*].——That his life
" had been oft attempted at home, where the
" fidelity of his friends, and the eyes of all
" *Rome* were his guard; what might he not
" apprehend from so long a journey? that there
" were three roads from *Rome* to *Modena*; the
" *Flaminian* along the upper sea; the *Aurelian*
" along the lower; the *Cassian* in the middle—
" that they were all of them beset by Antony's
" allies, his own utter enemies: the *Cassian* by
" Lento; the *Flaminian* by Ventidius; the *Au-*
" *relian* by the whole *Clodian* family [*h*].——
" That he would stay therefore in the City, if
" the Senate would give leave, which was his
" proper seat, his watch and station: that
" others might enjoy camps, Kingdoms, mili-
" tary commands; he would take care of the
" City, and the affairs at home, in partnership
" with them; that he did not refuse the charge;

[*g*] Ibid. 8. [*h*] Ibid. 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" but it was the people, who refuſed it for him : " for no man was leſs timorous, tho' none more " cautious than he——that a ſtateſman ought " to leave behind him a reputation of glory in " dying ; not the reproach of error and folly : " who, ſays he, does not bewail the death of " Trebonius ? yet there are ſome who ſay, tho' " it is hard indeed to ſay it, that he is the leſs " to be pitied, for not keeping a better guard, " againſt a baſe and deteſtable villain : for wiſe " men tell us, that he who profeſſes to guard " the lives of others, ought in the firſt place " to keep a guard upon his own [*i*].—That " if he ſhould happen to eſcape all the ſnares " of the road, that Antony's rage was ſo fu- " rious, that he would never ſuffer him to re- " turn alive from the congreſs——that when " he was a young voluntier in the wars of *Italy*, " he was preſent at a conference of Cn. Pom- " pey the Conſul, and P. Vettius the General " of the Marſi, held between the two Camps : " there was no fear, no ſuſpicion, nor any vio- " lent hatred on either ſide——that there was " an interview likewiſe between Sylla and Sci- " pio, in their civil wars, where tho' faith was " not ſtrictly obſerved, yet no violence was " offered [*k*]——but the caſe was different in " treating with Antony, where, if others could " be ſafe, he at leaſt could not: that Antony " would never come into their camp; much leſs " they into his——that if they tranſacted affairs " by Letter, his opinion would always be one " and the ſame ; to reduce every thing to the " will of the Senate : that this would be miſre- " preſented to the Veterans, as ſevere and per- " verſe ;

[*i*] Ibid. 10. [*k*] Ibid. 11.

" verſe; and might excite them perhaps to A. Urb. 710.
" ſome violence——let my life therefore, ſays Cic. 64. Coſſ.
" he, be reſerved to the ſervice of my country, C. VIBIUS
" as long as either dignity or nature will allow: PANSA.
" let my death fall by the neceſſary courſe of A. HIRTIUS.
" fate; or if I muſt meet it ſooner, let me meet
" it with glory——Since the Republic then,
" to ſpeak the moſt moderately, has no occa-
" ſion for this Embaſſy; yet if I can undertake
" it with ſafety, I will go: and in this whole
" affair will govern myſelf intirely, Fathers,
" not by a regard to my own danger, but to
" the ſervice of the ſtate; and after the moſt
" mature deliberation, will reſolve to do that
" which I ſhall judge to be moſt uſeful to the
" public Intereſt."———

THO' he did not abſolutely refuſe the employment, yet he diſſuaded it ſo ſtrongly, that the thing was wholly dropt; and Panſa, about the end of the month, marched away towards *Gaul*, at the head of his new raiſed army, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and without farther delay, to attempt a deciſive battle with Antony for the delivery of D. Brutus.

ANTONY at the ſame time, while he was perplexing the counſils of the Senate, by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring alſo by his Letters to ſhake the reſolution of Hirtius and Octavius, and draw them off from the cauſe which they were now ſerving: but their anſwers ſeem to have been ſhort and firm; referring him conſtantly to the authority of the Senate: yet as things were now drawing towards a criſis, he made one effort more upon them; and in the following expoſtulatory Letter reproached them with great freedom, for deſerting their true intereſt, and ſuffering them-

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

ſelves to be duped, and drawn in by Cicero, to revive *the Pompeian cauſe*, and eſtabliſh a power, which in the end would deſtroy them.

Antonius to Hirtius and Cæſar.

" UPON the news of Trebonius's death, I was " equally affected both with joy and with grief. " It was matter of real joy to me, to ſee a villain ſuffer the vengeance due to the aſhes of " the moſt illuſtrious of men; and that within " the circle of the current year, the divine providence has diſplayed itſelf, by the puniſhment of parricide, inflicted already on ſome, " and ready to fall upon the reſt. But on the other hand, it is a ſubject of juſt grief to me, " that Dolabella ſhould be declared an enemy, " becauſe he has killed a murtherer; and that " the ſon of a Buffoon ſhould be dearer to the " people of *Rome*, than Cæſar, the Father of " his country: but the cruelleſt reflection of all " is, that you, Hirtius, covered with Cæſar's " favors, and left by him in a condition, which " you yourſelf wonder at; and you too, young " man, who owe every thing to his name, are " doing all which is in your power, that Dolabella may be thought juſtly condemned; that " this wretch be delivered from the ſiege; and " Caſſius and Brutus be inveſted with all power. " You look upon the preſent ſtate of things as " people did upon the paſt; call Pompey's " camp the Senate; have made the vanquiſhed " Cicero your Captain; are ſtrengthening *Macedonia* with armies; have given *Africa* to " Varus, twice a priſoner; have ſent Caſſius " into *Syria*; ſuffered Caſca to act as Tribun; " ſuppreſſed the revenues of the *Julian Luperci*; " aboliſhed the colonies of Veterans, eſtabliſhed

" by law, and the decree of the Senate; pro- A. Urb. 710.
" miſe to reſtore to the people of *Marſeilles*, Cic. 64.
" what was taken from them by right of war; Coſſ.
" forget that a *Pompeian* was made incapable of C. VIBIUS PANSA.
" any dignity by Hirtius's law; have ſupplied A. HIRTIUS.
" Brutus with Appuleius's money; applauded
" the putting to death Poetus and Menedemus,
" Cæſar's friends, whom he made free of the
" City; took no notice of Theopompus, when
" ſtript and baniſhed by Trebonius, he fled to
" *Alexandria*: you ſee Ser. Galba in your Camp,
" armed with the ſame poignard with which he
" ſtabbed Cæſar; have enliſted my ſoldiers,
" and other Veterans, on pretence of deſtroying
" thoſe who killed Cæſar; and then employ
" them, before they know what they are doing,
" againſt their Quæſtor, or their General, or
" their Comrades—what have you not done,
" which Pompey himſelf, were he alive, or his
" ſon, if he could, would not do? in ſhort,
" you deny that any peace can be made, unleſs
" I ſet Brutus at liberty, or ſupply him with
" proviſions: can this pleaſe thoſe Veterans,
" who have not yet declared themſelves? for as
" to your part, you have ſold yourſelves to the
" flatteries and poiſoned honors of the Senate.
" But you come, you ſay, to preſerve the troops
" which are beſieged. I am not againſt their
" being ſaved, or going where-ever you pleaſe,
" if they will but leave him to periſh who has
" deſerved it. You write me word that the
" mention of concord has been revived in the
" Senate, and five Conſular Embaſſadors ap-
" pointed: it is hard to believe, that thoſe who
" had driven me to this extremity, when I of-
" fered the faireſt conditions, and was willing
" to remit ſome part of them, ſhould do any

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" thing with moderation or humanity: nor is
" it probable, that the same men, who voted
" Dolabella an enemy for a most laudable act,
" can ever forgive me, who am in the same
" sentiments with him. Wherefore it is your
" business to reflect, which of the two is the
" more eligible, or more useful to our common
" interest; to revenge the death of Trebonius,
" or of Cæsar: and which the more equitable;
" for us to act against each other, that the *Pom-*
" *peian* cause, so often defeated, may recover
" itself; or to join our forces, lest we become
" at last the sport of our enemies; who, which
" of us soever may happen to fall, are sure to
" be the gainers. But fortune has hitherto pre-
" vented that spectacle; unwilling to see two
" armies, like members of the same body fight-
" ing against each other; and Cicero all the
" while, like a master of Gladiators, matching
" us, and ordering the Combat: who is so far
" happy, as to have caught you with the same
" bait, with which he brags to have caught
" Cæsar. For my part, I am resolved to suffer
" no affront, either to myself, or my friends;
" not to desert the party which Pompey hated;
" nor to see the Veterans driven out of their
" possessions, and dragged one by one to the
" rack; nor to break my word with Dolabella;
" nor to violate my league with Lepidus, a
" most religious man: nor to betray Plancus,
" the partner of my counsils. If the immor-
" tal Gods support me, as I hope they will, in
" the pursuit of so good a cause, I shall live
" with pleasure; but if any other fate expects
" me, I tast a joy however before-hand, in the
" sure foresight of your punishment: for if the
" *Pompeians* are so insolent when conquered,

" how

" how much more they will be ſo when Con- A. Urb. 710.
" querors, it will be your lot to feel. In a word, Cic. 64.
" this is the ſum of my reſolution: I can for- Coſſ.
" give the injuries of my friends, if they them- C. VIBIUS
" ſelves are diſpoſed, either to forget them, or PANSA.
" prepared in conjunction with me, to revenge A. HIRTIUS.
" the death of Cæſar: I cannot believe that any
" Embaſſadors will come; when they do, I
" ſhall know what they have to demand [*l*]."
Hirtius and Cæſar, inſtead of anſwering this Letter, ſent it directly to Cicero at *Rome*, to make what uſe of it he thought fit with the Senate or the people.

In this interval Lepidus wrote a public Letter to the Senate, to exhort them to meaſures of peace, and to ſave the effuſion of civil blood, by contriving ſome way of reconciling Antony and his friends to the ſervice of their country; without giving the leaſt intimation of his thanks for *the public honors*, which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the Senate, and confirmed their former jealouſy of his diſaffection to the Republic, and good underſtanding with Antony. They agreed however to a vote propoſed by Servilius, " that
" Lepidus ſhould be thanked for his love of
" peace, and care of the Citizens, yet ſhould
" be deſired not to trouble himſelf any farther
" about it, but to leave that affair to them;
" who thought, that there could be no peace,
" unleſs Antony ſhould lay down his arms, and
" ſue for it." This Letter gave Antony's friends a freſh handle to renew their inſtances for a treaty, for the ſake of obliging Lepidus, *who had it in his power*, they ſaid, *to force them to it*: which put

[*l*] Vid. Phil. 13, 10. &c.

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put Cicero once more to the trouble of confuting and expoſing all their arguments. He told them, "that he was ever afraid from the firſt, leſt an "inſidious offer of peace ſhould damp the com-"mon zeal, for the recovery of their liberty: "that whoever delighted in diſcord, and the "blood of Citizens, ought to be expelled from "the ſociety of human kind: yet it was to be "conſidered, whether there was not ſome wars "wholly inexpiable; where no peace could "be made, and where a treaty of peace was but a "ſtipulation of ſlavery [*m*]: that the war now "on foot was of this ſort; undertaken againſt "a ſet of men who were natural enemies to ſo-"ciety; whoſe onely pleaſure it was to oppreſs, "plunder, and murther their fellow-creatures; "and to reſtore ſuch to the City, was to deſtroy "the City itſelf [*n*].——That they ought to "remember what decrees they had already made "againſt them; ſuch as had never been made "againſt a foreign enemy, or any, with whom "there could be peace—— that ſince wiſdom, "as well as fortitude, was expected from men "of their rank, tho' theſe indeed could hardly "be ſeparated, yet he was willing to conſider "them ſeparately, and follow what wiſdom the "more cautious and guarded of the two pre-"ſcribed.——If wiſdom then, ſays he, ſhould "command me to hold nothing ſo dear as life; "to decree nothing at the hazard of my head; "to avoid all danger, tho' ſlavery was ſure to "be the conſequence; I would reject that wiſ-"dom, be it ever ſo learned: but if it teaches "us to preſerve our lives, our fortunes, our fa-"milies, yet ſo, as to think them inferior to li-"berty;

[*m*] Phil. 13. 1. [*n*] Ibid. 2.

" berty ; to wiſh to enjoy them no longer than A. Urb. 710.
" we can do it in a free Republic ; not to part Cic. 64.
" with our liberty for them, but to throw them Coſſ.
" all away for liberty, as expoſing us onely to C. VIBIUS PANSA.
" greater miſchief without it ; I would then A. HIRTIUS.
" liſten to her voice, and obey her as a God [*o*].
" That no man had a greater reſpect for Lepi-
" dus than himſelf ; and tho' there had been an
" old friendſhip between them, yet he valued
" him not ſo much for that, as his ſervices to
" the public, in prevailing with young Pom-
" pey to lay down his arms, and free his coun-
" try from the miſery of a cruel war : that the
" Republic had many pledges of fidelity from
" Lepidus ; his great nobility ; great honors ;
" High Prieſthood ; many parts of the City
" adorned by him and his Anceſtors ; his wife,
" children, great fortunes, pure from any taint
" of civil blood ; no Citizen ever hurt, many
" preſerved by him : that ſuch a man might err
" in judgment, but could never wilfully be an
" enemy to his country.—That his deſire of
" peace was laudable, if he could make ſuch a
" peace for them now, as when he reſtored
" Pompey to them.—That for this they had
" decreed him greater honors, than had been
" given before to any man, a ſtatue with a ſplen-
" did inſcription, and a triumph even in ab-
" ſence [*p*].—That by good fortune they had
" managed matters ſo, that Pompey's return
" might conſiſt with the validity of Cæſar's acts,
" which, for the ſake of peace, they had con-
" firmed ; ſince they had decreed to Pompey
" the five millions and half, which was raiſed
" by the ſale of his eſtates, to enable him to buy
" them

[*o*] Ibid. 3. [*p*] Ibid. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS,

"them again: he deſired, that the taſk of replacing him in the poſſeſſions of his Anceſtors, "might be committed to him for his old friendſhip with his Father: that it ſhould be his "firſt care to nominate him *an Augur*, and repay the ſame favor to the Son, which he himſelf received from the Father [*q*]: that thoſe "who had ſeen him lately at *Marſeilles*, brought "word, that he was ready to come with his "troops to the relief of *Modena*, but that he "was afraid of giving offence to the Veterans; "which ſhewed him to be the true Son of that "Father, who uſed to act with as much prudence as courage.——That it was Lepidus's "buſineſs to take care, not to be thought to act "with more arrogance than became him: that "if he meant to frighten them with his army, "he ſhould remember, that it was the army of "the Senate and People of *Rome*, not his own "[*r*].——That if he interpoſed his authority "without arms, that was indeed the more laudable, but would hardly he thought neceſſary.———For tho' his authority was as great "with them, as that of the nobleſt Citizen ought "to be, yet the Senate was not unmindful of "their own dignity; and there never was a graver, firmer, ſtouter, Senate, than the preſent. "———That they were all ſo incenſed againſt "the enemies of their liberty, that no man's "authority could repreſs their ardor, or extort "their arms from them.——That they hoped "the beſt, but would rather ſuffer the worſt, "than live ſlaves [*s*].——That there was no "danger to be apprehended from Lepidus, ſince "he could not enjoy the ſplendor of his own "fortunes,

[*q*] Ibid. 5. [*r*] Ibid. 6. [*s*] Ibid. 7.

" fortunes, but with the safety of all honest men. A. Urb. 710.
" ——That nature first makes men honest, but Cic. 64.
" fortune confirms them: for tho' it was the Coss.
" common interest of all to promote the safety C. VIBIUS
" of the public, yet it was more particularly of PANSA.
" those who were happy in their fortunes.—— A. HIRTIUS.
" That no body was more so than Lepidus, and
" no body therefore better disposed: of which
" the people saw a remarkable instance, in the
" concern which he expressed, when Antony
" offered a diadem to Cæsar, and chose to be
" his slave, rather than his Collegue: for which
" single act, if he had been guilty of nothing
" else, he had richly deserved the worst punish-
" ment [*t*]."—Then after inveighing, as usual, against Antony thro' several pages, he declared *all thoughts of peace with him to be in vain, and for a fresh proof of it produced his last Letter to Hirtius and Octavius*, and read it publicly to the assembly: *not that he thought it worth reading*, he says, *but to let them see his traiterous views openly avowed and confessed by himself.* He read it to them paragraph by paragraph, with his own comment and remarks upon it; rallying all along with great wit and spirit, " the rage,
" the extravagance, the inconsistency, the folly,
" and the inaccuracy of each sentence." On the whole he says, " that if Lepidus had seen it,
" he would neither have advised, or thought
" any peace with him possible.——That fire
" and water would sooner unite, than the An-
" tonies be reconciled to the Republic.—That
" the first and best thing therefore was to con-
" quer; the second, to decline no danger for
" the liberty of their country; that there was
" no

[*t*] Ibid. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" no third thing, but the laſt and worſt of all, " to ſubmit to the utmoſt baſeneſs, thro' a de- " ſire of living.—For which reaſons he decla- " red his concurrence with Servilius, in the vote " upon Lepidus's Letters; and propoſed an ad- " ditional decree, either to be joined to the " other, or publiſhed ſeparately.—That Pom- " pey the Great, the ſon of Cnæus, in offering " his ſervice and his troops to the Senate and " People of *Rome*, had acted agreeably to the " courage and zeal of his Father and Anceſtors; " and to his own virtue, induſtry, and good " diſpoſition to the Republic: and that the " thing was grateful and acceptable to the Se- " nate and People, and would hereafter be an " honor to himſelf."

AFTER the debate, which ended as Cicero wiſhed, he ſent the following ſhort Letter to Lepidus, which, by the coldneſs and negligence with which it is drawn, ſeems to be deſigned to let Lepidus ſee, that they were perfectly eaſy and ſecure at *Rome*, whatever meaſures he might think fit to take.

CICERO to LEPIDUS.

" WHILE out of the great reſpect which I " bear to you, I am making it my particular " care, to advance your dignity as much as poſ- " ſible, it was a concern to me to ſee, that you " did not think it worth while to return your " thanks to the Senate, for the extraordinary " honors, which they have lately conferred up- " on you. I rejoice however, that you are ſo " deſirous of making peace among Citizens: if " you can ſeparate that peace from ſlavery, you " will conſult both the good of the Republic, " and your own dignity: but if the effect of it

" be,

" be, to reſtore a deſperate man to an arbitrary dominion; I would have you to know, that all men of ſenſe have taken a reſolution, to prefer death to ſervitude. You will act more wiſely therefore in my judgment, if you meddle no farther with that affair of peace: which is not agreeable either to the Senate, or the people, or to any honeſt man: but you will hear enough of this from others, or be informed of it by Letters; and will be directed by your own prudence, what is the beſt for you to do [*u*]."

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

PLANCUS too, who commanded in *Gaul*, and now reſided near *Lyons*, at the head of a brave army, enforced Lepidus's advice, by a Letter likewiſe to the Senate on the ſame ſubject of peace; to which Cicero wrote the following anſwer:

CICERO to PLANCUS.

" THE account which our friend Furnius brought of your Affection to the Republic, was highly agreeable both to the Senate and People of *Rome*: but your Letter, when read in the Senate, did not ſeem to agree with Furnius's report: for you adviſed us to peace, when your Collegue, a man of the greateſt eminence, was beſieged by moſt infamous Plunderers; who ought either to ſue for peace, by laying down their arms, or if they demand it with ſword in hand, it muſt be procured by victory, not treaty. But in what manner your Letters, as well as Lepidus's alſo, were received, you will underſtand from

" that

[*u*] Ep. fam. x. 27.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" that excellent man your brother, and from " Furnius, *&c.* [*x*]"

C. ANTONY, whom we mentioned above, to have retreated with *ſeven Cohorts to* Apollonia, not daring to wait for Brutus's arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to *Buthrotum*, to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, in quarters more ſecure and remote; but being overtaken and attacked on the march by a part of Brutus's army, he loſt *three of his cohorts* in the action; and in a ſecond engagement with another body of troops, which *young* Cicero commanded, was intirely routed and taken priſoner: which made Brutus abſolute Maſter of the Country, without any farther oppoſition [*y*]. This freſh ſucceſs gave occaſion for a ſecond Letter, from Brutus to the Senate; of which Cicero makes the following mention; " your Letter, " ſays he, which was read in the Senate, ſhews " the Counſil of the General, the virtue of your " ſoldiers, the induſtry of your officers, and in " particular of my Cicero. If your friends had " been willing to move the Senate upon it; and " if it had not fallen into moſt turbulent times, " ſince the departure of Panſa, ſome juſt and " proper honor would have been decreed for it " to the Gods [*z*]."——

THE

[*x*] Ibid. 6.

[*y*] Plutar. in Brut.

[*z*] Tuæ litteræ, quæ in Senatu recitatæ ſunt, & Imperatoris conſilium & militum virtutem, & induſtriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei declarant. Quod ſi tuis placuiſſet de his litteris referri, & niſi in tempus turbulentiſſimum poſt diſceſſum Panſæ incidiſſent, honos quoque juſtus ac debitus Diis immortalibus decretus eſſet. Ad Brut. 2. 7.

THE taking C. Antony prisoner put Brutus under some difficulty in what manner he should treat him: if he set him at liberty, to which he was inclined, he had reason to apprehend fresh trouble from him, both to himself and the Republic: if he kept him prisoner in his camp, he was afraid, lest some sedition might be raised on his account and by his intrigues, in his own army; or if he put him to death, that it would be thought an act of cruelty, which his nature abhorred. He consulted Cicero therefore upon it by Letter — "C. Antony, says he, is still "with me: but in truth, I am moved with "the prayers of the man; and afraid, lest the "madness of some should make him the occa- "sion of mischief to me. I am wholly at a "loss what to do with him. If I knew your "mind, I should be at ease: for I should think "that the best, which you advised [*a*]."—— Cicero's advice was, *to keep him under a safe guard, till they knew the fate of D. Brutus in* Modena [*b*]. Brutus however treated him with great lenity, and seemed much disposed to give him his liberty: for which purpose he not onely wrote to the Senate about it himself, but permitted Antony to write too, and with the stile of *Proconsul*; which surprized and shocked all his friends at *Rome*, and especially Cicero, who expostulates with him for it in the following terms.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

[*a*] Antonius adhuc est nobiscum: sed medius fidius & moveor hominis precibus, & timeo ne illum aliquorum fruor excipiat. Plane æstuo. Quod si scirem quid tibi placeret, sine sollicitudine essem. Id enim optimum esse persuasum esset mihi. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

[*b*] Quod me de Antonio consulis; quoad Bruti exitum cognovimus, custodiendum puto. Ib. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" ON the thirteenth of *April*, ſays he, your " meſſenger Pilus brought us two Letters, the " one in your name, the other in Antony's; " and gave them to Servilius the Tribun; he " to Cornutus the Prætor. They were read in " the Senate. Antony *Proconſul*, raiſed as " much wonder as if it had been, Dola- " bella *Emperor*; from whom alſo there came " an expreſs; but no body, like your Pilus, " was ſo hardy, as to produce the Letters, or " deliver them to the Magiſtrates. Your Let- " ter was read; ſhort indeed, but extremely " mild towards Antony: the Senate was amazed " at it. For my part, I did not know how to " act. Should I affirm it to be forged?—— " What if you ſhould own it? Should I admit " it to be genuin? that was not for your honor. " I choſe therefore to be ſilent that day. On " the next, when the affair had made ſome noiſe, " and Pilus's carriage had given offence, I be- " gan the debate, ſaid much of *Proconſul* An- " tony; Sextius performed his part, and ob- " ſerved to me afterwards in private, what dan- " ger his ſon and mine would be liable to, if " they had really taken up arms againſt a *Pro-* " *conſul.* You know the man; he did juſtice " to the cauſe. Others alſo ſpoke; but our " friend Labeo took notice, that your ſeal was " not put to the Letter; nor any date added; " nor had you written about it, as uſual, to " your friends; from which he maintained the " Letter to be forged; and in ſhort, convinced " the Houſe of it. It is now your part, Bru- " tus, to conſider the whole ſtate and nature of " the war: you are delighted, I perceive, with " lenity; and think it the beſt way of pro- " ceeding: this indeed, is generally right; but

" the

" the proper place of clemency is, in caſes and A. Urb. 710.
" ſeaſons very different from the preſent: for Cic. 64.
" what are we doing now, Brutus? we ſee a Coſſ.
" needy and deſperate crew threatning the very C. VIBIUS
" Temples of the Gods; and that the war muſt PANSA.
" neceſſarily decide, whether we are to live or A. HIRTIUS.
" not. Who is it then, whom we are ſparing?
" or what is it, that we mean? are we conſult-
" ing the ſafety of thoſe, who, if they get the
" better, are ſure not to leave the leaſt remains
" of us? for what difference is there between
" Dolabella and any one of the three Antony's?
" if we ſpare any of theſe, we have been too ſe-
" vere to Dolabella. It was owing chiefly to my
" advice and authority, that the Senate and
" People are in this way of thinking, though
" the thing itſelf indeed alſo obliged them to it:
" if you do not approve this policy, I ſhall de-
" fend your opinion, but cannot depart from
" my own: the world expect from you no-
" thing either remiſs or cruel: it is eaſy to mo-
" derate the matter, by ſeverity to the Leaders,
" generoſity to the ſoldiers [*c*]."

CICERO had now done every thing, that human prudence could do towards the recovery of the Republic: for all that vigor, with which it was making this laſt effort for itſelf, was intirely owing to his counſils and authority. As Antony was the moſt immediate and deſperate enemy, who threatened it, ſo he had armed againſt him the whole ſtrength of *Italy*, and raiſed up a force ſufficient to oppreſs him. Young Octavius, next to Antony, was the moſt formidable to the friends of liberty; but from the contraſt of their perſonal intereſts, and their

[*c*] Ad Brut. 2. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

jealouſy of each other's views, Cicero managed the opportunity, to employ the one to the ruin of the other; yet ſo, as to provide at the ſame time againſt any preſent danger from Octavius, by throwing a ſuperiority of power into the hands of the Conſuls; whom, from being the late Miniſters of Cæſar's Tyranny, he had gained over to the intereſts of liberty. But beſides the difficulties, which he had to ſtruggle with at home, in bringing matters to this point, he had greater diſcouragements abroad, from the Commanders of the ſeveral Provinces: they were all promoted to thoſe governments by Cæſar, the proper Creatures of his power, and the abettors of his tyranny [*d*]; and were now full of hopes, either of advancing themſelves to dominion, or to a ſhare of it at leaſt, by eſpouſing the cauſe of ſome more powerful pretender. Men of this turn, at the head of great and veteran armies, could not eaſily be perſuaded to ſubmit to a Senate, which they had been taught to deſpiſe, or to reduce the military power, which had long governed all, to a dependance on the Civil. Yet Cicero omitted no pains of exhorting them by Letters, and inviting them by honors to prefer the glory of ſaving their Country, to all other views whatſoever. Thoſe, whom he moſt diſtruſted, and for that reaſon moſt particularly preſſed, were Lepidus, Pollio, and Plancus; who by the ſtrength of their armies, and the poſſeſſion of *Gaul* and *Spain*, were the beſt qualified to ſerve or to diſtreſs the Republican cauſe. He had little hopes of the two firſt; yet managed them ſo well, by repreſenting

[*d*] Vides Tyranni Satellites in Imperiis: vides ejuſdem exercitus in latere veteranos. Ad Att. 14. 5.

senting the strength of the honest party, the unanimity of the Senate, of the Consuls, and all *Italy*, that he forced them at least to dissemble their disaffection, and make great professions of their duty; and above all, to stand neuter till the affairs of *Italy* were decided; on which the fate of the Republic seemed chiefly to depend. Nay, he seems to have drawn Plancus intirely into his measures: as appears from his account of him to Brutus [*e*], and from Plancus's own Letters, in which he gives the strongest assurances of his fidelity, and offers to lead his troops *to the relief of* Modena; and was actually upon his march towards it, when he heard upon the road of Antony's defeat.———Not long before which, Cicero sent him the following Letter.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"THOUGH I understood from the account of "our friend Furnius, what your design and re- "solution was, with regard to the Republic; "yet after reading your Letters I was able to "form a clearer judgment of your whole pur- "pose. Wherefore, though the fate of the "Commonwealth depends wholly on one bat- "tel, which will be decided, I believe, when "you are reading this Letter, yet you have ac- "quired great applause, by the very fame, "which was every where spread, of your good "intentions: and if there had been a Consul at "*Rome*, the Senate, by decreeing some consi- "derable honor to you, would have declared, "how acceptable your endeavours and prepara-

 "tions

[*e*] Planci animum in Rempub. egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litteris ejus, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitror, perspicere potuisti. Ad Brut. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" tions were. But that time is not onely not " yet paſt; but was not in my judgment even " ripe: for after all, that alone paſſes with me " for honor, which is conferred on great men, " not for the hopes of future, but the experi- " ence of paſt ſervices. If then there be any " Republic, in which honor can have it's pro- " per luſter, take my word for it, you ſhall " have your ſhare of the greateſt: though that, " which can truly be called honor, is not an in- " vitation to a temporary, but the reward of an " habitual virtue. Wherefore, my dear Plan- " cus, turn your whole thoughts towards glo- " ry: help your Country; fly to the relief of " your Collegue; ſupport this wonderful con- " ſent, and concurrence of all nations: you will " ever find me the promoter of your counſils, " the favourer of your dignity, and on all occa- " ſions moſt friendly and faithful to you: for " to all the other motives of our union; our " mutual affection; good offices; old acquaint- " ance; the love of our Country, which is now " added, makes me prefer your life to my own. " *Mar.* 29th [*f*]."

PLANCUS in the mean time ſent a ſecond Letter to the Senate, to aſſure them of his zeal and reſolution to adhere to them; and to acquaint them with the ſteps, which he had already taken for their ſervice: upon which they decreed him ſome extraordinary honors, at the motion of Cicero, who ſent him the following account of it.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

" THOUGH out of regard to the Republic, " my greateſt joy ought to be, for your bring- " ing

[*f*] Ep. fam. x. 10.

" ing such relief and help to it, in a time al- A. Urb. 710.
" most of extremity; yet may I so embrace you Cic. 64.
" after victory and the recovery of our liberty, Coss.
" as it is your dignity, that gives me the chief C. VIBIUS
" part of my pleasure; which already is, and PANSA.
" ever will be, I perceive, as great as possible. A. HIRTIUS.
" For I would not have you think, that any
" Letters were ever read in the Senate of greater
" weight than yours; both for the eminent me-
" rit of your services, and the gravity of your
" words and sentiments: which was not at all
" new to me, who was so well acquainted with
" you, and remembered the promises of your
" Letters to me; and understood the whole pur-
" pose of your counsils from our Furnius: but
" they appeared greater to the Senate, than was
" expected; not that they ever had any doubt
" of your inclinations; but did not fully under-
" stand, how much you were able to do, or
" how far you would expose yourself in the
" cause. When M. Varisidius therefore brought
" me your Letters very early, on the seventh
" of *April*, I was transported with joy upon
" reading them; and as a great multitude of
" excellent Citizens were then waiting to attend
" my going abroad, I instantly gave them all
" a part of my pleasure. In the mean while
" ours friend Munatius, according to custom,
" came to join me: I presently shewed him
" your Letter, of which he knew nothing be-
" fore; for Varisidius came first to me, as you,
" he said, had ordered him: soon after, the
" same Munatius returned to me with the other
" two Letters; that, which you had sent to
" him, and that, to the Senate: we resolved
" to carry the last directly to the Prætor Cor-
" nutus; who, by the custom of our ancestors,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS

" ſupplies the place of the Conſuls in their ab-
" ſence. The Senate was immediately called;
" and, upon the fame and expectation of your
" Letters, made up a full Houſe. After they
" were read, a ſcruple of religion was objected
" to Cornutus, from the report of the Guardi-
" ans of the Chickens; that he had not duly
" conſulted the auſpices; which was confirmed
" likewiſe by our College: ſo that the affair
" was adjourned to the next day. On that day
" I had a great conteſt about your dignity with
" Servilius, who procured by his intereſt, to
" have his opinion declared the firſt: but the
" Senate left him, and all went the contrary
" way: but when they were coming into my
" opinion, which was delivered the ſecond;
" the Tribun Titius, at his requeſt, interpoſed
" his negative; and ſo the debate was put off
" again to the day following. Servilius came
" prepared to ſupport his oppoſition, though
" againſt Jupiter himſelf, in whoſe Temple the
" thing paſſed: in what manner I handled him,
" and what a ſtruggle I had to throw off Titi-
" us's negative, I would have you learn rather
" from other people's Letters; take this how-
" ever from mine; that the Senate could not
" poſſibly act with more gravity, firmneſs, and
" regard to your honor, than it did on this oc-
" caſion; nor is the Senate more friendly to
" you, than the whole City: for the body of
" the people, and all ranks and orders of men
" are wonderfully united in the defence of the
" Republic. Go on therefore, as you have be-
" gun, and recommend your name to immor-
" tality: and from all theſe things, which, from
" the vain badges of outward ſplendor, carry a
" ſhew of glory, deſpiſe them; look upon
" them,

" them, as trifling, tranſitory, periſhing. A. Urb. 710.
" True honor is placed ſingly in virtue; which Cic. 64.
" is illuſtrated with the moſt advantage by great Coſſ.
" ſervices to our Country. You have the beſt C. VIBIUS
" opportunity for this in the world; which PANSA.
" ſince you have embraced, perſevere, and go A. HIRTIUS.
" through with it; that the Republic may not
" owe leſs to you, than you to the Republic:
" you will find me, not onely the favorer, but
" the advancer of your dignity: this I take my-
" ſelf to owe, both to the Republic, which is
" dearer to me than my life, and to our friend-
" ſhip, *&c. April* the eleventh [*g*]."

PLANCUS anſwered him not long after to the following effect.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

" IT is a pleaſure to me to reflect, that I
" have never promiſed any thing raſhly of my-
" ſelf to you; nor you, for me to others. In
" this you have the clearer proof of my love,
" that I deſire to make you acquainted with my
" deſigns before any man elſe. You already
" ſee, I hope, that my ſervices to the public
" will grow greater every day: I promiſe, that
" you ſhall ſoon be convinced of it. As for
" me, my dear Cicero, may the Republic be
" ſo delivered by my help from it's preſent
" dangers, as I eſteem your honors and rewards
" equal to an immortality; yet were I ſtill
" without them, I would remit nothing of my
" preſent zeal and perſeverance. If in the mul-
" titude of excellent Citizens, I do not diſtin-
" guiſh myſelf by a ſingular vigor and induſtry,
" I deſire no acceſſion to my dignity from your
" favor:

[*g*] Ep. fam. x. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" favor: but in truth, I desire nothing at all " for myself at present; nay am even against " it; and willingly make you the arbiter both " of the time and the thing itself: a Citizen can " think nothing late or little, which is given by " his country. I passed the *Rhone* with my " army by great journeys, on the 26th of " *April*; sent a thousand horse before me by a " shorter way from *Vienna*. As for myself, if " I am not hindred by Lepidus, none shall " complain of my want of expedition: if he " opposes me on my road, I shall take my mea- " sures from the occasion: the troops which I " bring are for number, kind, and fidelity, " extremely firm. I beg the continuance of " your affection, as long as you find yourself " assured of mine. Adieu [*b*]."

POLLIO likewise, who now commanded the farther *Spain* with three good Legions, though he was Antony's particular friend, yet made the strongest professions to Cicero of his resolution, to defend the Republic against all Invaders. In one of his Letters, after excusing himself, for not having written earlier and oftener, he says, " both my nature and studies draw me to the " desire of peace and liberty: for which reason " I always lamented the occasion of the late " war: but as it was not possible for me to be " of no party, because I had great enemies eve- " ry where, I ran from that camp, where I " could not be safe from the treachery of an " enemy; and being driven whither I least de- " sired, freely exposed myself to dangers, that " I might not make a contemptible figure a- " mong those of my rank. As for Cæsar him- " self,

[*b*] Ep. fam. x. 9.

" ſelf, I loved him with the utmoſt piety and A. Urb. 710.
" fidelity, becauſe he treated me on the foot of Cic. 64.
" his oldeſt friends, though known to him one- Coſſ.
" ly in the heighth of his fortunes. When I C. VIBIUS
" was at liberty to act after my own mind, I PANSA.
" acted ſo, that the beſt men ſhould moſt ap- A. HIRTIUS.
" plaud me: what I was commanded to do, I
" did ſo, as to ſhew, that it was done by com-
" mand, and not by inclination. The unjuſt
" odium, which I ſuffered on that account, has
" ſufficiently convinced me how ſweet a thing
" liberty is, and how wretched is life under the
" dominion of another. If the conteſt then be,
" to bring us all again under the power of one;
" whoever that one be, I profeſs myſelf his ene-
" my: nor is there any danger, which I would
" decline, or wiſh to avoid, for the ſake of li-
" berty. But the Conſuls have not, either by
" decree or Letters, given me any orders what
" to do: I have had but one Letter from Pan-
" ſa, ſince the Ides of *March*; in which he ex-
" horts me, to ſignify to the Senate, that I and
" my army would be in their power: but when
" Lepidus was declaring openly to his enemy,
" and writing to every body, that he was in
" the ſame ſentiments with Antony, that ſtep
" would have been wholly abſurd and improper
" for me: for how could I get forage for my
" troops againſt his will, in marching through
" his Province? or if I had ſurmounted all
" other difficulties, could I fly over the *Alps*,
" which were poſſeſſed by his garriſons?——
" No body will deny, that I declared publickly
" to my ſoldiers at *Corduba*, that I would not
" deliver the Province to any man, unleſs he
" were commiſſioned by the Senate——where-
" fore you are to look upon me, as one, who,

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" in the firſt place, am extremely deſirous of " peace, and the ſafety of all the Citizens; in " the ſecond, prepared to aſſert my own and " my country's liberty. I am more pleaſed, " than you can imagine, that my friend Gallus " is ſo dear to you: I envy him for walking, " and joking with you: you will aſk perhaps, " at what rate I value that privilege: you ſhall " know by experience, if ever it be in our " power to live in quiet: for I will never ſtir " one ſtep from you. I am ſurprized that " you never ſignified in your Letters, how I " ſhould be able to do the moſt ſervice, by ſtay- " ing in the Province, or bringing my army " into *Italy*. For my part, though to ſtay be " more ſafe, and leſs troubleſome; yet ſince I " ſee, that in ſuch a time as this, there is more " want of Legions than of Provinces, which " may eaſily be recovered, I am reſolved, as " things now ſtand, to come away with my " army —— From *Corduba* the fifteenth of " *March* [*i*]."

THERE are ſeveral Letters alſo ſtill extant written at this time from Cicero to Cornificius, who governed *Afric*; exhorting him in the ſame manner to firmneſs in the defence of the Republic, and to guard his Province from all Invaders, who ſhould attempt to extort it from him: and this man, after all, was the onely Commander, who kept his word with him, and performed his part to his Country; and loſt his life at laſt in maintaining that Province in it's allegiance to the Republic [*k*].

P. SER-

[*i*] Ep. fam. x. 31. &c. App. l. 4. 621. Dio.
[*k*] Vid. Ep. fam. 12. 24. l. 48. 307.

P. SERVILIUS, who has often been mentioned in the debates of the Senate, was a perſon of great rank and nobility; had been Conſul with J. Cæſar, in the beginning of the Civil war; the ſon of that Servilius, who by his conqueſt near *mount Taurus*, obtained the ſurname of Iſauricus. He affected the character of a Patriot, but having had a particular friendſhip with Antony, was much courted by that party; who took the advantage of his vanity, to ſet him up as a Rival to Cicero in the management of public affairs: in which he frequently obſtructed Cicero's meaſures, and took a pride to thwart and diſappoint whatever he propoſed: Cicero had long ſuffered this with patience, out of regard to the public ſervice; till provoked by his late oppoſition in the affair of Plancus, he could not forbear treating him with an unuſual ſeverity and reſentment; of which he gives an account in a Letter to Brutus.

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CICERO to BRUTUS.

" FROM Plancus's Letters, of which a copy, " I imagine, has been ſent to you, you will " perceive his excellent diſpoſition towards the " Republic, with the condition of his Legions, " auxiliaries, and whole forces. Your own " people have informed you, I gueſs, by this " time, of the levity, inconſtancy, and perpe- " tual diſaffection of your friend Lepidus; " who, next to his own brother, hates you, " his near relation, the moſt. We are anxious " with an expectation, which is now reduced " to the laſt criſis: all our hopes are fix'd on " the delivery of D. Brutus; for whom we " have

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" have been in great apprehenſion. For my " part, I have buſineſs enough on my hands at " home, with the Madman Servilius; whom " I have endured longer than became my dig- " nity: but I did it for the ſake of the Repub- " lic; leſt I ſhould give the diſaffected a Lea- " der, not well affected indeed himſelf, yet " noble to reſort to; which nevertheleſs they " ſtill do. But I was not for alienating him " wholly from the Republic: I have now put " an end to my forbearance of him; for he " began to be ſo inſolent, that he looked upon " no man as free. But in Plancus's debate he " was ſtrangely mortified; and after two days " conteſt, was ſo roughly handled by me, that " he will be the modeſter, I dare ſay, for the " future. In the midſt of our contention, on " the ninth of *April*, I had Letters deliver- " ed to me in the Senate, from our friend " Lentulus in *Aſia*; with an account of Caſſius, " the Legions, and *Syria*; which when I read " preſently in public, Servilius ſunk, and many " more beſides; for there are ſome of eminent " rank, who think moſt wickedly; but Ser- " vilius was moſt ſenſibly chagrined, for the " Senate's agreeing to my motion about Plan- " cus. The part which he acts is monſtrous " [*l*]."

THE news, which is mentioned in this Let- ter to have been ſent by Lentulus, of Caſſius's ſucceſs, was ſoon after confirmed by particular Letters to Cicero, from Brutus and Caſſius them- ſelves; ſignifying, " that Caſſius had poſſeſſed " himſelf of *Syria* before Dolabella arrived " there: that the Generals L. Murcus and Q. " Criſpus had given up their armies to him: " that

[*l*] Ad Brut. 2. 2.

" that a ſeparate Legion under Cæcilius Baſſus A. Urb. 710.
" had ſubmitted to him againſt the will of their Cic. 64.
" Leader: that four other Legions, ſent by Coſſ.
" Cleopatra from *Egypt*, to the aſſiſtance of C. VIBIUS
" Dolabella, under his Lieutenant Allienus, had PANSA.
" all declared for him:" and leſt the firſt Letter ſhould miſcarry, as they often did, from ſuch a diſtance, by paſſing through the enemy's quarters, Caſſius ſent him a ſecond, with a more full and diſtinct account of all particulars. A. HIRTIUS.

Caſſius proconſul to his Friend M. Cicero.

" IF you are in health, it is a pleaſure to me,
" I am alſo very well. I have read your Let-
" ter, in which I perceived your wonderful af-
" fection for me: for you not only wiſh me
" well, which indeed you have always done,
" both for my own ſake and the Republic's,
" but entertain an uncommon concern and ſol-
" licitude for me. Wherefore, as I imagined,
" in the firſt place, that you would think it
" impoſſible for me to ſit ſtill, and ſee the Re-
" public oppreſſed; and in the ſecond, that
" whenever you ſuppoſed me to be in action,
" you would be ſollicitous about my ſafety and
" ſucceſs; ſo, as ſoon as I was maſter of the
" Legions, which Allienus brought from *Egypt*,
" I immediately wrote to you, and ſent ſeveral
" expreſſes to *Rome:* I wrote Letters alſo to
" the Senate, but forbad the delivery of them,
" till they had been firſt ſhewn to you. If theſe
" Letters have not reached you, I make no
" doubt but that Dolabella, who, by the wick-
" ed murder of Trebonius, is maſter of *Aſia*,
" has ſeized my meſſengers, and intercepted
" them. I have all the armies which were in
" *Syria* under my command; and having been
" forced

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" forced to ſit ſtill a while, till I had diſcharged my promiſes to them, am now ready to take the field. I beg of you to take my honor and intereſts under your ſpecial care: for you know that I have never refuſed any danger or labor for the ſervice of my country: that by your advice and authority I took arms againſt theſe infamous Robbers: that I have not onely raiſed armies for the defence of the Republic and our liberty, but have ſnatched them from the hands of the moſt cruel Tyrants: which if Dolabella had ſeized before me, he would have given freſh ſpirit to Antony's cauſe; not only by the approach, but by the very fame and expectation of his troops: for which reaſons, take my ſoldiers, I beſeech you, under your protection, if you think them to have deſerved well of the ſtate: and let none of them have reaſon to repent, that they have preferred the cauſe of the Republic, to the hopes of plunder and rapine. Take care alſo, as far as it is in your power, that due honor be paid to the Emperors Murcus and Criſpus: for Baſſus was miſerably unwilling to deliver up his Legion; and if his ſoldiers had not ſent a deputation to me in ſpite of him, would have held out *Apamea* againſt me, till it could be taken by force. I beg this of you, not only for the ſake of the Republic, which of all things was ever the deareſt to you, but of our friendſhip alſo, which I am confident has a great weight with you. Take my word for it, the army which I have is the Senate's, and every honeſt man's, and above all, your's: for by hearing perpetually of your good diſpoſition, they have conceived a wonderful

" affection

" affection for you; and when they come to A. Urb. 710.
" understand, that you make their interests your Cic. 64.
" special care, they will think themselves in- Coss.
" debted to you for every thing. Since I wrote C. Vibius
" this I have heard that Dolabella is come in- Pansa.
" to *Cilicia* with all his forces: I will follow A. Hirtius.
" him thither; and take care that you shall
" soon be informed of what I have done. I
" wish only that my success may be answer-
" able to my good intentions. Continue the
" care of your health and your love to me
" [*m*]."

Brutus, who had sent this good news before to Cicero, as well as to his mother, and sister Tertia, charged the latter, *not to make it public till they had first consulted Cicero, whether it was proper to do so or not* [*n*]. *He was afraid, lest the great prosperity of Cassius might give umbrage to the* Cæsarian *party; and raise a jealousy in the Leaders, who were acting against Antony, that the Republican interest would grow too strong for them.* But Cicero sent him word, *that the news was already known at* Rome, *before his Letters arrived; and tho' there was some ground for his apprehensions, yet on the whole, they thought it more advisable to publish than to suppress it* [*o*].

Thus Cicero, as he declared to the Senate, *by his Letters, expresses, and exhortations, was perpetually exciting all, who had power or com-*

[*m*] Ep. fam. 12. 12. vid. ib. 11.

[*n*] Ego scripsi ad Tertiam Sororem & matrem, ne prius ederent hoc, quod optime ac feliciſſime gessit Cassius, quam tuum consilium cognoviſſent. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

[*o*] Video te veritum esse, id quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Cæsaris—vehementer commoverentur. Sed antequam tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat & pervulgata—ib. 6.

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mand in any part of the Empire, to the common defence of their liberty [*p*]; and for his pains, had all the rage and malice of the factious to ſtruggle with at home. Theſe were particularly troubleſome to him at this time, by ſpreading falſe reports every day from *Modena*, *of Antony's ſucceſs*, or what was more to be apprehended, *of his union with the Conſuls againſt D. Brutus:* which raiſed ſuch a terror thro' the City, *that all honeſt men were preparing to run away to Brutus or Caſſius* [*q*]. Cicero however was not diſheartned at it, but in the general conſternation appeared chearful and eaſy; and, as he ſends word to Brutus, *had a perfect confidence in the Conſuls, while the majority of his friends diſtruſted them*, and from the number and firmneſs of their troops, had but little doubt of their victory, if ever they came to a battle with Antony [*r*]. But what touched him more ſenſibly, was a ſtory, kept up for ſome days with great induſtry, *that he had formed a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the City, and declare himſelf Dictator; and would appear publickly with the Faſces within a day or two.* The report, as groundleſs as it was, ſeems to have diſturbed him;

[*p*] Meis litteris, meis nunciis, meis cohortationibus, omnes, qui ubique eſſent, ad patriæ præſidium excitatos. Phil. 14. 7.

[*q*] Triduo vero aut quatriduo—timore quodam perculſa civitas tota ad te ſe cum conjugibus & liberis effundebat. Ad Brutum. 3. vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 8.

[*r*] Triſtes enim de Bruto noſtro litteræ, nunciique afferebantur, me quidem non maxime conturbabant. His enim exercitibus, ducibuſque quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere. Neque aſſentiebar majori parti hominum. Fidem enim Conſulum non condemnabam, quæ ſuſpecta vehementer erat. Deſiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam & celeritatem. Ad Brut. 2. 1.

him; but when Appuleius, the Tribun, one of his warm friends, was taking pains to confute it, and juſtify him in a ſpeech to the people, they all cried out with one voice, *that Cicero had never done, nor deſigned to do any thing, but what was the beſt and moſt beneficial to the Republic* [*s*]: this gave him ſome comfort: but what brought him much greater was, the certain news *of a victory gained over Antony at* Modena, which arrived within a few hours after Appuleius's ſpeech [*t*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

THE ſiege of *Modena*, which laſted near four months, was one of the moſt memorable in all antiquity, for the vigor both of the attack and the defence. Antony had inveſted it ſo cloſely, and poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that no ſuccours could be thrown into it: and Brutus, though reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits, defended it ſtill with the greateſt reſolution. The old writers have recorded ſome ſtratagems, which are ſaid to have been put in practice on this occaſion; "how Hirtius provided men ſkilled in "diving, with Letters written on Lead, to paſs "into the Town under the river, which runs "through it; till Antony obſtructed that paſ- "ſage, by nets and traps placed under water; "which gave occaſion to another contrivance, "of ſending their intelligences backwards and "forwards by Pigeons [*u*]."

[*s*] Itaque P. Appuleius—doloris mei concionem habuit maximam—in qua, cum me—liberare ſuſpicione *faſcium* vellet; una voce cuncta concio declaravit, nihil eſſe à me unquam de Repub. niſi optime cogitatum. Phil. 14. 6.

[*t*] Poſt hanc concionem duabus tribuſve horis optatiſſimi nuntii & litteræ venerunt—ibid—

[*u*] Frontin. de Stratagem. l. 3. 13. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. x. 37. Dio. p. 315.

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PANSA was now upon the point of joining Hirtius, with four Legions of new levies, which he brought from *Rome*; but when he was advanced within a few miles of Hirtius's camp, Antony privately drew out ſome of his beſt troops, with deſign to ſurprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if poſſible, to an engagement againſt his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a Letter to Cicero from Ser. Galba, one of the Conſpirators againſt Cæſar, who bore a principal part and command in it.

GALBA to CICERO.

" ON the fifteenth of *April*, the day on " which Panſa was to arrive in Hirtius's camp, " (in whoſe company I was, for I went a hun- " dred miles to meet him, on purpoſe to haſten " his march) Antony drew out two of his Le- " gions, the ſecond and thirty-fifth; and two " *Prætorian* cohorts; the one his own, the " other Silanus's, with part of the *Evocati* [*x*]; " and came forward towards us, imagining, " that we had nothing but four Legions of new " Levies. But in the night, to ſecure our " march to the camp, Hirtius had ſent us the " *Martial* Legion, which I uſed to command, " and two *Prætorian* cohorts. As ſoon as An- " tony's Horſe appeared in ſight, neither the " *Martial* Legion, nor the *Prætorian* cohorts, " could be reſtrained from attacking them; ſo " that

[*x*] The *Evocati* were a choice body of Veteran Soldiers, who, after their diſmiſſion from ſervice, being yet vigorous and fit for war, were invited to it again, as a ſort of volunteers, by the Conſul or General, and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by peculiar privileges.

" that when we could not hold them in, we A. Urb. 710.
" were obliged to follow them againſt our wills. Cic. 64.
" Antony kept his forces within *Caſtel Fran-* Coſſ.
" *co* [*y*]; and being unwilling to have it C. VIBIUS
" known, that he had his Legions with him, PANSA.
" ſhewed onely his horſe and light armed foot. A. HIRTIUS.
" When Panſa ſaw the *Martial* Legion running
" forward againſt his orders, he commanded
" two of the new raiſed Legions to follow him.
" As ſoon as we got through the ſtraits of the
" Moraſs and the woods, we drew up the
" twelve cohorts in order of battel. The other
" two Legions were not yet come up. Antony
" immediately brought all his troops out of the
" village, ranged likewiſe in order of battel,
" and without delay engaged us. At firſt they
" fought ſo briſkly on both ſides, that nothing
" could poſſibly be fiercer, tho' the right wing,
" in which I was, with eight cohorts of the
" *Martial* Legion, put Antony's thirty fifth
" Legion to flight at the firſt onſet, and pur-
" ſued it above five hundred paces from the
" place where the action began: wherefore ob-
" ſerving the enemy's horſe attempting to ſur-
" round our wing, I began to retreat, and or-
" dered the light-armed troops to make head
" againſt the Mooriſh Horſe, and prevent their
" coming upon us behind. In the mean while
" I perceived myſelf in the midſt of Antony's
" men, and Antony himſelf but a little way
" behind me: upon which, with my ſhield
" thrown over my ſhoulder, I puſhed on my
" horſe with all ſpeed towards the new Legion

[*y*] Ad Forum Gallorum: now called *Caſtel-Franco*, a ſmall village on the *Æmilian* way between *Modena* and *Bologna*. Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. 1. c. 28.

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" that was coming towards us from the Camp: " and whilſt Antony's men were purſuing me, " and ours by miſtake throwing javelins at me, " I was preſerved, I know not how, by being " preſently known to our ſoldiers. Cæſar's " *Prætorian* Cohort ſuſtained the fight a long " time on the *Æmilian* road: but our left wing, " which was the weaker, conſiſting of two Co- " horts of the *Martial* Legion, and the *Præto-* " *rian* of Hirtius, began to give ground, be- " ing ſurrounded by Antony's Horſe, in which " he is very ſtrong. When all our ranks had " made good their retreat, I retreated myſelf " the laſt to our Camp. Antony, as the Con- " queror, fancied that he could take it; but " upon trial loſt many of his men in the at- " tempt, without being able to do us any hurt. " Hirtius in the mean time hearing of the en- " gagement, marched out with twenty veteran " Cohorts, and meeting Antony on his return, " intirely routed and put to flight his whole " army. in the very ſame place where they had " fought before at *Caſtel-Franco*. About ten at " night Antony regained his Camp at *Modena*, " with all his Horſe. Hirtius retired to that " camp which Panſa had quitted in the morn- " ing. and where he left the two Legions, which " Antony attacked. Thus Antony has loſt the " greater part of his veteran troops, yet not " without ſome loſs of our *Prætorian* Cohorts, " and the *Martial* Legion: we took two of " Antony's eagles, and ſixty ſtandards; and " have gained a conſiderable advantage [z]."

BESIDES this Letter from *Galba*, there came Letters alſo ſeverally from the *two Conſuls and Octavius*;

[z] Ep. fam. x. 30.

Octavius; confirming the other account with the addition of some farther particulars: *that Pansa fighting bravely at the head of his troops, had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to* Bologna: *that Hirtius had scarce lost a single man: and that to animate his soldiers the better, he took up the Eagle of the fourth Legion, and carried it forward himself: that Cæsar was left to the guard of their Camp: where he was attacked likewise by another body of the enemy, whom he repulsed with great loss* [a]. Antony reproached him afterwards *with running away from this engagement in such a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his Horse or General's habit:* but the account just mentioned was given by Cicero from Letters, that were read to the Senate, in which Hirtius declared him to have acted with the greatest courage [b]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

THE news reached *Rome on the twentieth of* April, where it raised an incredible joy: and the greater, we may imagine, for the late terrors which they had suffered from contrary reports. The whole body of the people assembled presently about Cicero's house, and carried him in a kind of triumph to *the Capitol*, whence on

[a] Cum—ipse in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus è prælio—Phil. 14. 9.

Hirtius ipse, aquilam quartæ Legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii Legionibus, equitatuque conflixit. Ib. 10.

Cæsar—adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum Legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque prælium fecit. Ibid. vid. App. l. 3. 571.

[b] Priore prælio Antonius eum fugisse scribit, ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse. Suet. Aug. x.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

their return, they placed him in *the Roſtra*, to give them an account of the victory; and then conducted him home with infinite acclamations: ſo that in a Letter upon it to Brutus, he ſays, *that he reaped on that day the full fruit of all his toils, if there be any fruit in true and ſolid glory* [c].

THE day following the Senate was ſummoned by Cornutus, the Prætor, to deliberate on the Letters of *the Conſuls and Octavius*; Servilius's opinion was, "that the City ſhould now "quit the *Sagum*, and take the common gown "again; and that a public Thankſgiving "ſhould be decreed jointly to the honor of the "Conſuls and Octavius." Cicero ſpoke next, "and declared ſtrongly againſt quitting the "*Sagum*, till D. Brutus was firſt delivered "from the ſiege: that it would be ridiculous "to put it off till they ſhould ſee him in ſafety, for whoſe ſake they had put it on—that "the motion for quitting it, flowed from envy "to D. Brutus; to deprive him of the glory "that it would be to his name, to have it delivered to poſterity; that the people of *Rome* "had put on the *Sagum* for the danger, and "reſumed the gown for the preſervation of one "Citizen—he adviſed them therefore to continue in their former mind, of thinking the "whole danger and ſtreſs of the war to depend "on D. Brutus—and tho' there was reaſon to "hope that he was already ſafe, or would "ſhortly

[c] Cum heſterno die me ovantem ac prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit? domùm inde reduxerit—— Phil. 14. 5.

Quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum,—— fructum cepi maximum; ſi modo eſt aliquis fructus ex ſolida veraque gloria, &c. Ad Brut. 3.

" ſhortly be ſo, yet they ſhould reſerve the fruit A. Urb. 710.
" of that hope to fact and the event, leſt they Cic. 64.
" ſhould be found too haſty in ſnatching the Coſſ.
" favor of the Gods, or fooliſh in contemning C. VIBIUS PANSA.
" the power of fortune [*d*].—Then as to the A. HIRTIUS.
" decree of the Thankſgiving, he urges Servi-
" lius with omitting two things in his vote,
" which ought neceſſarily to have accompanied
" it: the giving Antony the title of *enemy*,
" and their own Generals, of *Emperors* ——
" the ſwords of our ſoldiers are dyed, ſays he,
" or rather moiſtened onely as yet with blood:
" if it was the blood of enemies, it was an act
" of the utmoſt piety; if of Citizens, the moſt
" deteſtable wickedneſs: how long then ſhall
" he, who has outdone all enemies in villany,
" go without the name of *enemy?* he is now
" waging an inexpiable war with four Conſuls,
" with the Senate and people of *Rome*; de-
" nounces plagues, devaſtation, the rack and
" tortures to us all: confeſſes that Dolabella's
" horrid act, which no Barbarians would own,
" was done by his advice: declares what he
" would have done to this City, by the Cala-
" mity of the people of *Parma*; honeſt and
" excellent men, firm to the intereſts of the
" Senate and People; whom L. Antony, the
" portent and diſgrace of his ſpecies, put to
" death by all the methods of cruelty [*e*].——
" That Hannibal was never ſo barbarous to
" any City, as Antony to *Parma*.—He con-
" jures them to remember, how much they
" had all been terrified for two days paſt by
" villainous reports ſpread about the City; and
" were expecting either a wretched death, or
" lamen-

[*d*] Phil. 14. 1, 2. [*e*] Ibid. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" lamentable flight; and could they ſcruple to
" call thoſe men *enemies*, from whom they fear-
" ed ſuch dreadful things?——he then propo-
" ſed to enlarge the number of days of the
" Thankſgiving, ſince it was not to be decreed
" to one, but to three Generals jointly; to
" whom in the firſt place he would give the
" title of *Emperors*—ſince there had not been
" a ſupplication decreed without it for twenty
" years paſt: ſo that Servilius ſhould not either
" have decreed it at all, or allowed the uſual
" honors to thoſe, to whom even new and un-
" uſual honors were due [*f*]. That, if accord-
" ing to the preſent cuſtom, the Title of *Em-*
" *peror* was commonly given for killing *a thou-*
" *ſand or two* of *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, or *Thracians*;
" how could they refuſe it now, when ſo many
" Legions were routed, and ſuch a multitude
" ſlain?—for with what honors, ſays he, and
" congratulations ſhould our deliverers them-
" ſelves be received into this Temple, when
" yeſterday, on the account of what they have
" done the people of *Rome* carried me into the
" Capitol in a kind of Triumph; for that, af-
" ter all, is a juſt and real Triumph, when by
" the general voice of the City, a public Teſti-
" mony is given to thoſe who have deſerved
" well of the Commonwealth. For if in the
" common joy of the whole City they congra-
" tulated me ſingly, it is a great declaration of
" their judgment: if they thanked me, ſtill
" greater: if both, nothing can be imagined
" more glorious—that he was forced to ſay
" ſo much of himſelf againſt his will, by the
" ſtrange envy and injuries which he had lately

[*f*] Ibid. 4.

" ſuffered—that the inſolence of the Factious, A. Urb. 710.
" as they all knew, had raiſed a report and ſuſ- Cic. 64.
" picion upon him, of his aiming at *a Tyran-* Coſſ.
" *ny*; tho' his whole life had been ſpent in de- C. VIBIUS
" fending the Republic from it: as if he, who PANSA.
" had deſtroyed Catiline, for that very crime, A. HIRTIUS.
" was of a ſudden become a Catiline himſelf [*g*].
" That if the report had found credit in the
" City, their deſign was, by a ſudden aſſault
" upon his perſon, as upon a *Tyrant*, to have
" taken away his life——that the thing itſelf
" was manifeſt, and the whole affair ſhould be
" laid open in proper time——that he had
" ſaid all this, not to purge himſelf to them,
" to whom he ſhould be ſorry to want an apo-
" logy, but to admoniſh certain perſons, of
" jejune and narrow minds, to look upon the
" virtue of excellent Citizens, as the object of
" their imitation, not of their envy: ſince the
" Republic was a wide field, where the courſe
" of glory was open to many [*h*]: that if any
" man conteſted with him the firſt place in the
" government, he acted fooliſhly, if he meant
" to do it by oppoſing vice to virtue: that as
" the race was gained by running the faſteſt, ſo
" virtue was only to be conquered by a ſupe-
" rior virtue——that they could never get the
" better of him by bad votes; by good ones
" perhaps they might, and he himſelf ſhould
" be glad of it——that the people of *Rome*
" were perpetually inquiring, how men of their
" rank voted and acted, and formed their judg-
" ment of them accordingly —— that they all
" remembred, how in *December* laſt, he was
" the author of the firſt ſtep towards recover-
" ing

[*g*] Ibid. 5. [*h*] Ibid. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" ing their liberty: how from the firſt of *Ja-*
" *nuary* he had been continually watching over
" the ſafety of the Commonwealth: how his
" houſe and his ears were open day and night
" to the advices and informations of all who
" came to him: how his opinion always was
" againſt an Embaſſy to Antony: how he had
" always voted him an *enemy*, and their preſent
" ſtate, a war: but as oft as he mentioned an
" *enemy* or a war, the Conſuls had always dropt
" his motion, from the number of thoſe that
" were propoſed [*i*]: which could not however
" be done in the preſent caſe, becauſe he, who
" had already voted a Thankſgiving, had un-
" warily voted Antony an *enemy:* ſince a
" Thankſgiving had never been decreed but
" againſt enemies; and never aſked or granted
" in what was properly a civil war——that
" they ſhould either have denied it, or muſt of
" courſe decree thoſe to be *enemies*, for whoſe
" defeat it was granted.—Then after floriſh-
" ing on the particular merit of three Ge-
" nerals, Panſa, Hirtius, Octavius; and ſhew-
" ing how well they had each deſerved the
" name of *Emperor*, he decrees a Thankſgiving
" of *fifty days* in the name of the three jointly
" [*k*]." In the laſt place, he proceeds to ſpeak of the rewards due to the ſoldiers, and eſpecially of the honors to be paid to thoſe who had loſt their lives in the defence of their country.—— " For theſe, he propoſes a ſplendid monument " to be erected in common to them all, at the " public charge, with their names and ſervices " inſcribed"—and in recommending it, breaks out into a kind *of funeral Elogium* upon them—

" Oh

[*i*] Ibid. 7. [*k*] Ibid. 8, 9, 10, 11.

" Oh happy death, says he, which when due A. Urb. 710.
" to nature, was paid to your country! for I Cic. 64.
" cannot but look upon you as born for your Coss.
" country, whose name is even derived from C. Vibius
" *Mars*: as if the same God, who gave birth Pansa.
" to this City, for the good of nations, had A. Hirtius.
" given birth also to you, for the good of this
" City. Death in flight is scandalous; in vi-
" ctory glorious; wherefore whilst those im-
" pious wretches, whom you slew, will suffer
" the punishment of their parricide in the infer-
" nal regions; you, who breathed your last in
" victory, have obtained the place and seat of
" the pious. The life given to us by nature is
" short; but the memory of a life well spent,
" everlasting: if it were not longer than this
" life, who would be so mad, at the expence
" of the greatest pains and danger, to contend
" for the prize of glory? your lot therefore is
" happy, O you, while you lived, the bravest,
" now the holiest of soldiers: for the fame of
" your virtue can never be lost, either by the
" forgetfulness of those who are now alive, or
" the silence of those who shall come hereafter;
" since the Senate and people of *Rome* have
" raised to you, as it were, with their own
" hand an immortal monument. There have
" been many great and famous armies in the
" *Punic*, *Gallic*, *Italic* wars; yet no such ho-
" nor was ever done to any of them. I wish
" that we could still do greater, since you have
" done the greatest services to us: you drove
" Antony mad with rage, from the city: you
" repulsed him, when he attempted to return:
" a fabric therefore shall be erected of magni-
" ficent work; and letters engraved upon it,
" the eternal witnesses of your divine virtue;

" nor

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" nor will thoſe who ſee or hear of your mo-
" nument, ever ceaſe talking of you: ſo that
" inſtead of this frail and mortal condition of
" life, you have now acquired an immortality
" [*l*]."——He then renews their former aſſu-
" rances to the old Legions, of the full and
" punctual payment of all, which had been
" promiſed to them, as ſoon as the war ſhould
" be over; and for thoſe, in the mean time,
" who had loſt their lives for their country, he
" propoſes, that the ſame rewards which would
" have been given to them if they had liv'd,
" ſhould be given immediately to their parents,
" children, wives, or brothers."——All which he includes, as uſual, *in the form of a decree*, which was ratified by the Senate.

ANTONY, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himſelf cloſe within his Camp, and reſolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act onely on the defenſive; except by haraſſing the enemy with his Horſe, in which he was far ſuperior. He ſtill hoped to make himſelf maſter of *Modena*, which was reduced to extremity; and by the ſtrength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. Hirtius and Octavius, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it; and after two or three days ſpent in finding the moſt likely place of breaking thro' the intrenchments, they made their attack with ſuch vigor, that Antony, rather than ſuffer the town to be ſnatched at laſt out of his hands, choſe to draw out his Legions, and come to a general battel. The fight was bloody and obſtinate; and Antony's men, tho' obliged to give ground, brave-

ly

[*l*] Ibid. 12.

ly disputed every inch of it: till D. Brutus, taking the opportunity at the same time to sally out of the Town, at the head of his garrison, *helped greatly to determine and complete the victory:* Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced his way *into Antony's Camp*; but when he had gained the middle of it, *was unfortunately killed near the General's Tent: Pontius Aquila, one of the Conspirators, was killed likewise in the same place:* but Octavius, who followed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession of the Camp, *with the intire defeat and destruction of Antony's best troops:* while Antony *himself, with all his horse, fled with great precipitation towards the* Alps. Some writers give a different relation of this action, but from the facts and circumstances of it, delivered by Cicero, this appears to be the genuine account. *The Consul Pansa died the day following of his wounds at* Bologna [*m*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

[*m*] Cum alia laudo, & gaudeo accidisse, tum quod Bruti eruptio non solum ipsi salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Ad Brut. 4.

Ibi Hirtium quoque perisse & Pontium Aquilam, &c. Ep. fam. x. 33. vid. it. Ep. fam. xi. 13. & Appian. l. 3. p. 372.

SECT

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

SECT. XI.

THE intire defeat of Antony's army made all people preſently imagine, that the war was at an end, and the liberty of *Rome* eſtabliſhed: which would probably have been the caſe, if Antony had either periſhed in the action, or the Conſuls ſurvived it: but the death of the Conſuls, though not felt ſo ſenſibly at firſt, in the midſt of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all Cicero's ſchemes; and was the immediate cauſe of the ruin of the Republic [*a*]. Hirtius was a man of letters and politeneſs; intimately intruſted with Cæſar's counſils, and employed to write his acts: but as he was the proper creature of Cæſar, and ſtrongly infected with party, ſo his views were all bent on ſupporting the power that had raiſed him, and ſerving his Patron, not the public. In the beginning therefore of the civil war, when he was Tribun of the people, he publiſhed a law, *to exclude all, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or Office in the ſtate* [*b*]: which made him particularly obnoxious to the *Pompeians*, who conſidered him as their moſt inveterate enemy. Panſa, whoſe Father had been proſcribed by Sylla [*c*], was attached with equal zeal to Cæſar, as to the head

[*a*] Hirtium quidem & Panſam—In conſulatu Reip. ſalutares, alieno ſane tempore amiſimus. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

Panſa amiſſo, quantum detrimenti Reſpub. acceperit, non te præterit. Ep. fam. xi. 9. Quanto ſit in periculo Reſpub. quam potero breviſſime exponam. Primum omnium, quantum perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Conſulum, &c. ib. x.

[*b*] Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat tenere lege Hirtia dignitates. Phil. 13. 16.

[*c*] Dio. l. 45. 278.

head and reviver of the *Marian* cauſe; and ſerved him in all his wars with ſingular affection and fidelity; he was a grave, ſincere, and worthy man; and being naturally more moderate and benevolent than Hirtius, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miſeries of the oppreſſed *Pompeians*; many of whom he relieved by his humanity; and reſtored by his intereſt to the City and their eſtates [*d*]. This made him very popular, and gained him the eſteem of all the honeſt; ſo that Caſſius, in defending his Epicuriſm to Cicero, alledges Panſa, as an example of thoſe genuine *Epicureans*, who placed their pleaſure or chief good in virtuous acts [*e*]. Before their entrance into the Conſulſhip, Quintus Cicero gave a moſt wretched account of them both; "as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit "to be truſted with the command of a paultry "Town, much leſs of the Empire; and ſays, "that if they were not removed from the helm, "the Republic would certainly be loſt; ſince "Antony would eaſily draw them into a partnerſhip of his crimes; for when he ſerved "with them in *Gaul*, he had ſeen incredible "inſtances of their effeminacy and debauchery, "in the face even of the enemy [*f*]." — But we muſt charge a great part of this character to the peeviſhneſs and envy of Quintus: for what- A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

[*d*] Panſa, gravis homo & cert s—Ep. fam. 6. 12.

Quod multos miſeriis levavit, & quod ſe in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia proſecuta eſt. Ep. fam. 15. 17.

[*e*] Itaque & Panſa, qui ἡδονὴν ſequitur, virtutem retinet, &c. ib. 19.

[*f*] Quos ego penitus novi libidinum & languoris effeminatiſſimi animi plenos: qui niſi a gubernaculis receſſerint, maximum ab unive ſo naufragio periculum eſt, &c. Ep. fam. 16. 27.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. ever they had been before, they were certainly good Conſuls; and out of their affection to Cicero, and regard to his authority, governed themſelves generally in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were perſuaded, that the deſign of revenging Cæſar's death would throw the Republic again into convulſions; and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of poſſeſſing Cæſar's place; and reſolved therefore to quell by open force all attempts againſt the public peace. From their long adherence to Cæſar, they retained indeed ſome prejudices in favor of that party; and were loth to procede to extremities, till pacific meaſures were found ineffectual. This gave Cicero ſome reaſon to blame, but never to diſtruſt them; to complain of their phlegm *and want of vigor*, as detrimental to the common cauſe: yet while they were generally ſuſpected by others, he always thought them ſincere, tho' they did not in all caſes act up to his wiſhes. The event confirmed his judgment of them: for they both not only expoſed, but loſt their lives with the greateſt courage in the defence of the Republic; *and ſhewed themſelves to be the very men, which Cicero had conſtantly affirmed them to be*; and tho' he imputes ſome *little blame to* Hirtius, yet of Panſa, he declares, *that he wanted neither courage from the firſt, nor fidelity to the laſt* [g].

If

[g] Quales tibi ſæpe ſcripſi Conſules, tales extiterunt. [ad Brut. 3.] erat in Senatu ſatis vehemens & acer Panſa; cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maxime in Socerum: cui Conſuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur; nihil ut in Cæſare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio—ib. 10.

N. B. Several Medals were ſtruck by the Senate on the occaſion of this victory; particularly one in honor of Panſa, exhibiting the head of *the Goddeſs of Liberty*, crowned

IF they had lived to reap the fruits of their victory, their power and authority would have been sufficient to restrain Octavius within the bounds of his duty; and sustain the tottering Republic, till Brutus and Cassius could arrive to their assistance; and Plancus and D. Brutus unite themselves in the same cause, and give it a firm establishment in their Consulship of the next year: all whose armies, together with *the African Legions*, were far superior to any force that could have been brought against them. But the death of the two Consuls placed Octavius at once above controul, by leaving him the master of both their armies: especially of all the veterans; who were disaffected to D. Brutus, and could not be induced to follow him: and it fell out so lucky and apposite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general persuasion, *that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance*; for he was observed to be *the first man who took up Hirtius's body in the Camp*; where some imagined him to have been *killed by his own soldiers*; *and Pansa's Physician, Glyco, was actually thrown into Prison by Torquatus, Pansa's Quæstor, upon a suspicion of having poisoned his wounds* [*b*]. But the chief ground

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

P 2

ed with laurel, and the inscription, Libertatis: and on the reverse, *Rome* sitting upon the spoils of enemies, holding a Spear in her right hand, and a Dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and victory flying towards her, to crown her with laurel; and the inscription, C. Pansa. C. F. C. N. See Morel. Fam. Rom.

[*b*] Rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occisos: ut Antonio fugato, Repub. Consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansæ quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco Medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri incidisset. Suet. Aug. xi. Dio. l. 46. 317. App. p. 572.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. ground of that notion ſeems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the fact with the intereſts of Octavius: for M. Brutus thought it incredible, and in the moſt preſſing manner begged of Cicero, *to procure Glyco's enlargement, and protect him from any harm; as being a worthy, modeſt man, incapable of ſuch a villany; and who, of all others, ſuffered the greateſt loſs by Panſa's death* [*i*].

CICERO was ſoon aware of the dangerous turn which this event was likely to give to their affairs; and within a day or two after the news, intimates his apprehenſion of it to Brutus: "Young Cæſar, ſays he, has a wonderful diſ-"poſition to virtue: I wiſh that I may govern "him as eaſily, in all this heighth of honor and "power, as I have hitherto done: the thing is "now much harder; yet I do not deſpair of it: "for the youth is perſuaded, and chiefly by "me, that we owe our preſent ſafety to him: "and in truth, if he had not at firſt driven "Antony from the City, all had been loſt [*k*]." But as he found Octavius grow duly more and more untractable, ſo he began to exhort and implore Brutus in every Letter, *to bring his army into* Italy, as the onely thing which could ſave them

[*i*] Tibi Glycona Medicum Panſæ — diligentiſſime commendo; audimus eum veniſſe in ſuſpicionem Torquato de morte Panſæ, cuſtodirique ut Parricidam. Nihil minus credendum, &c. Rogo te & quidem valde rogo, eripias eum ex cuſtodia.—Ad Brut. 6.

[*k*] Cæſaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere poſſimus, ut adhuc tenuimus! eſt omnino illud difficilius: ſed non diffidimus. Perſuaſum eſt enim adoleſcenti, & maxime per me, ejus opera nos eſſe ſalvos: & certe, niſi is Antonium ab urbe avertiſſet, periſſent omnia. Ad Brut. 3.

them in their preſent circumſtances: and to enforce his own authority, he procured *a vote alſo of the Senate*, to call him home with his Legions to the defence of the Republic [*l*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

At *Rome* however the general rejoicings ſtifled all preſent attention to the loſs of their Conſuls; and Antony's friends were ſo dejected for ſome time, that they gave Cicero no more oppoſition in the Senate: where he poured out all imaginable honors on the deceaſed, Hirtius, Panſa and Aquila; decreed *an ovation to Cæſar*; and added a number of days to their Thankſgiving, in honor of D. Brutus: whoſe deliverance happening to fall upon *his birth day*, he decreed likewiſe, *that his name ſhould be aſcribed ever after to that day, in the Faſti or public Kalendars*, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Antony's adherents were alſo declared *enemies:* in which number Servilius himſelf included Ventidius; and moved, *to give Caſſius the command of the war againſt Dolabella*; to whom Cicero joined Brutus; *in caſe that he ſhould find it uſeful to the Republic* [*m*].

The decree *of an Ovation to* Octavius was blamed by Brutus *and his friends* [*n*]: yet ſeems to have been wiſely and artfully deſigned: for

[*l*] Te, cognita Senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque maturares, magnopere deſiderabat Reſpublica. Ad Brut. x.

[*m*] A. d. v. Kalend. Maias cum de iis, qui hoſtes judicati ſunt, bello perſequendis, ſententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, & ut Caſſius perſequeretur Dolabellam. Cui cum eſſem aſſenſus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, ſi arbitrarere utile —perſequerere bello Dolabellam, &c. Ad Brut. 5. it. 15.

[*n*] Suſpicor illud minus tibi probari, quod ad tuis familiaribus— non probatur, quod ut Ovanti introire Cæſari liceret, decreverim. Ad Brut. 15.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. while it carried an appearance of honor, it would regularly have ſtript him of his power, if he had made uſe of it: ſince his commiſſion was to expire of courſe, and his army to be diſſolved, upon his firſt entrance into the City: but the confuſion of the times made laws and cuſtoms of little effect with thoſe who had the power to diſpenſe with them.

THE Commanders abroad were ſo ſtruck with Antony's defeat, that they redoubled their aſſurances to Cicero of their firmneſs and zeal for the common cauſe. Lepidus eſpecially, who had ſuffered two of his Lieutenants, Silanus and Culleo, to carry ſuccours to Antony at *Modena*, labors to excuſe it in a civil and humble ſtrain, and to perſuade Cicero, "that they had "done it againſt his orders; and tho', for their "former relation to him, he was unwilling to "puniſh them with the laſt ſeverity, yet he "had not ſince employed them, or received "them even into his Camp. He acquaints "him, that Antony was arrived in his Pro"vince, with one Legion, and a great multi"tude of men unarmed, but with all his Horſe, "which was very ſtrong; and that Ventidius "had joined him with three Legions: that he "was marching out againſt him with all his "forces; and that many of Antony's Horſe "and Foot daily deſerted him.——That for "himſelf, he would never be wanting in his "duty to the Senate and the Republic——— "thanks him for not giving credit to the falſe "reports which were ſpread of him: and above "all, for the late honors that he had decreed to "him —— begs him to expect every thing "from him, which could be expected from an

" honeſt man, and to take him under his ſpe- A. Urb. 710.
" cial protection [*o*]" Cic. 64.

Pollio ſtill more explicitely, " that there " was no time now for loitering, or expecting " the orders of the Senate——that all who " wiſhed to preſerve the Empire, and the very " name of the *Roman* people, ought to lend " their preſent help —— That nothing was " more dangerous, than to give Antony leiſure " to recollect himſelf.——That for his part, " he would neither deſert nor ſurvive the Re- " public——was grieved onely for his being " at ſuch a diſtance that he could not come ſo " ſoon as he wiſhed to its relief, *&c.* [*p*]"

Plancus ſent word, " that he was taking " all poſſible care to oppreſs Antony, if he " came into that country.—That if he came " without any conſiderable body of troops, he " ſhould be able to give a good account of " him, tho' he ſhould be receiv'd by Lepidus; " or if he brought any force with him, would " undertake that he ſhould do no harm in thoſe " parts, till they could ſend him ſuccours ſuffi- " cient to deſtroy him——that he was then " in a treaty with Lepidus, about uniting their " forces in the ſame cauſe, by the mediation of " Laterenſis and Furnius; nor would be hin- " dered by his private quarrel to the man, from " concurring with his greateſt enemy in the " ſervice of the commonwealth [*q*]." In ano- ther Letter he ſpeaks with great contempt of " Antony's ſhattered forces, tho' joined with " thoſe of Ventidius, the *Mule-driver*, as he " calls him; and is confident, that if he could

[*o*] Ep. fam. x. 34. [*q*] Ib. xi.
[*p*] Ibid. 33.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. " have met with them, they would not have " ſtood an hour before him [*r*]."

THE Conquerors at *Modena* were much cenſured in the mean time for giving Antony leiſure to eſcape: but Octavius from the beginning had no thoughts of purſuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced Antony's power ſo low, and raiſed his own ſo high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the Empire; of which he ſeems to have formed the plan from this moment: whereas if Antony had been wholly deſtroyed, together with the Conſuls, the Republican party would have probably been too ſtrong for him and Lepidus; who, tho' Maſter of a good army, was certainly *a weak General* [*s*]: when he was preſſed therefore to purſue Antony, he contrived ſtill to delay it, till it was too late; taking himſelf to be more uſefully employed, in ſecuring to his intereſts the troops of the Conſuls.

CICERO was particularly diſguſted at Antony's eſcape; and often expoſtulates upon it with D. Brutus: he tells him, " that if Antony " ſhould ever recover ſtrength again, all his " great ſervices to the Republic would come " to nothing——it was reported, ſays he, at " *Rome*, and all people believed it, that he was " fled with a few unarmed, diſpirited men; " and himſelf almoſt broken hearted: but if it " be ſo with him, as I hear it is, that you can-

" not

[*r*] Mihi enim ſi contigiſſet, ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercule horam conſtitiſſet: tantum ego & mihi confido, & ſic perculſus illius copias, Ventidiique *Mulionis* caſtra deſpicio. Ib. 18.

[*s*] Cum & Lepido omnes Imperatores forent meliores, & multis Antonius, dum erat ſobrius. Vell. Pat. 2, 63.

" not fight him again without danger; he does A. Urb. 710.
" not ſeem to have fled from *Modena*, but to Cic. 64.
" have changed onely the ſeat of the war.
" Wherefore men are now quite different from
" what they were: ſome even complain that
" you did not purſue him; and think that he
" might have been deſtroyed, if diligence had
" been uſed: ſuch is the temper of people, and
" above all of ours, to abuſe their liberty a-
" gainſt thoſe by whom they obtained it; it is
" your part however to take care that there be
" no real ground of complaint. The truth of
" the caſe is, he who oppreſſes Antony, puts
" an end to the war. What the force of that
" is, it is better for you to conſider, than for
" me to write more explicitly [*t*]."

D. BRUTUS, in his anſwer, gives him the reaſons why he could not follow Antony ſo ſoon as he wiſhed: " I had no horſe, ſays he; no
" carriages; did not know that Hirtius was
" killed; had no confidence in Cæſar, before
" I met and talked with him; thus the firſt
" day paſſed. The next morning early I was
" ſent for by Panſa to *Bologna*; but on the
" road met with an account of his death: I ran
" back to my little army; for ſo I may truly
" call it: it is extremely reduced, and in ſad
" condition for want of all things: ſo that An-
" tony gained two days of me, and made much
" greater journeys in flying, than I could in
" purſuing; for his troops went ſtraggling;
" mine in order. Where-ever he paſſed, he
" opened all the priſons, carried away the men,
" and ſtopt no where till he came to the Fords.
" This place lies between the *Appennine* and the
" *Alps*;

[*t*] Ep. fam. xi. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. "*Alps*; a moſt difficult country to march thro': "when I was thirty miles from him, and Ventidius had already joined him, a copy of his "ſpeech was brought to me, in which he begs "of his ſoldiers to follow him croſs the *Alps*; "and declares, that he acted in concert with "Lepidus: but the ſoldiers cried out, eſpecially thoſe of Ventidius, for he has very few "of his own, that they would either conquer "or periſh in *Italy*; and began to beg, that he "would go to *Pollentia:* when he could not "over-rule them, he put off his march to the "next day. Upon this intelligence, I preſently "ſent five Cohorts before me to *Pollentia*, and "followed them myſelf with the army: my "detachment came to the place an hour before "Trebellius, with Antony's Horſe: this gave "me an exceeding joy; for I eſteem it equal "to a victory, *&c.* [*u*]"

In another Letter he ſays, "that if Cæſar "would have been perſuaded by him to croſs "the *Apennine*, he could have reduced Antony "to ſuch ſtraits, that he muſt have been deſtroyed by want rather than the ſword: but "that they could neither command Cæſar, nor "Cæſar his own troops; both which circumſtances were very bad, *&c.* [*x*]. This authentic account from D. Brutus confutes two facts, which are delivered by an old Hiſtorian, and generally received by all the moderns; firſt, that Octavius, *after the victory*, *refuſed to have any*

[*u*] Ibid. 13.

[*x*] Quod ſi me Cæſar audiſſet, atque Apeninum tranſiſſet, in tantas auguſtias Antoniam compuliſſem, ut inopia potius quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Cæſari imperari poteſt, nec Cæſar exercitui ſuo: quod utrumque peſſimum eſt.—ib. x.

any conference with D. Brutus; and that Brutus, for that reaſon, forbad him to enter his Province, or to purſue Antony: ſecondly, *that Panſa, in his laſt moments, ſent for Octavius, and adviſed him to an union with Antony againſt the Senate* [y]. For it is evident, that on the very day of the victory, there was actually a conference between the two firſt; which paſſed in ſo amicable a manner, *as to eaſe Brutus of the jealouſy which he had before conceived of Octavius: and Panſa's death happened ſo early the next morning*, that it left no room for the pretended advice and ſpeech which is made for him to Octavius: eſpecially ſince it appears on the contrary, that inſtead of Octavius, Panſa *really ſent for D. Brutus*, when he found himſelf dying, as if diſpoſed rather to communicate ſomething for the ſervice of that cauſe, in which he had loſt his life. But both the ſtories were undoubtedly forged afterwards, to ſave Octavius's honour, and give a better color to that ſudden change of meaſures, which from this hour he was determined to purſue [z]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

C. An-

[y] Vid. Appian. l. 3. p. 573. it. Hiſt. Rom. par Catrou & Rouillè. T. 17. l. 4. p. 433, &c.

[z] There is an original Medal ſtill remaining, that gives no ſmall confirmation to this notion; and was ſtruck probably at *Rome*, either by Panſa himſelf, upon his marching out towards *Modena*, or by the Senate ſoon after Panſa's death, in teſtimony of the ſtrict union, that ſubſiſted between him and D. Brutus Albinus. For, on the one ſide, there is the Head of a *Silenus*, as it is called, or rather of Pan, which is frequent on Panſa's coins, with the inſcription alſo of his name, C. Panſa: and on the other, Albinus Bruti. F. with *two right hands joined, holding a Caduceus*, as an emblem of the ſtricteſt amity and concord. — See Famil. Vibia. in Vaillant, or Morel.—

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. C. ANTONY was ſtill a priſoner with M. Brutus, whoſe indulgence gave him an opportunity of practiſing upon the ſoldiers, and raiſing a ſedition in the Camp, which created no ſmall trouble to Brutus. The ſoldiers however ſoon repented of their raſhneſs, and killed the authors of it; and *would have killed Antony too, if Brutus would have delivered him into their hands:* but he could not be induced to take his life, tho' this was the ſecond offence of the ſame kind; but pretending, *that he would order him to be thrown into the Sea, ſent him to be ſecured on ſhip-board, either from doing or ſuffering any farther miſchief* [*a*]: of which he wrote an account to Cicero, who returned the following anſwer.

" As to the ſedition in the fourth Legion " about C. Antony, you will take what I ſay " in good part; I am better pleaſed with the " ſeverity of the ſoldiers than with yours. I am " extremely glad that you have had a trial of " the affection of your Legions and the Horſe " ——as to what you write, that I am pur- " ſuing the Antony's much at my eaſe, and " praiſe me for it; I ſuppoſe you really think " ſo: but I do not by any means approve your " diſtinction, when you ſay, that our animo- " ſity ought to be exerted rather in preventing " civil wars, than in revenging ourſelves on " the vanquiſhed. I differ widely from you, " Brutus, not that I yield to you in clemency; " but a ſalutary ſeverity is always preferable to " a ſpecious ſhew of mercy. If we are ſo fond " of pardoning, there will be no end of civil " wars: but you are to look to that: for I can " ſay

[*a*] Dio. l. 47. p. 340.

" ſay of myſelf, what Plautus's old man ſays A. Urb. 710.
" in the *Trinummus*; *life is almoſt over with* Cic. 64.
" *me*; *it is you who are the moſt intereſted in it.*
" You will be undone, Brutus, believe me, if
" you do not take care; for you will not always
" have the people, nor the Senate, nor a Lea-
" der of the Senate, the ſame as now. Take
" this, as from *the Pythian Oracle*; nothing
" can be more true [*b*]."

BRUTUS's wife, Porcia, notwithſtanding the tragical ſtory which the old writers have dreſſed up, of the manner of her killing herſelf upon the news of her huſband's unhappy fate [*c*], died moſt probably about this time *at Rome of a lingering illneſs.* She ſeems to have been in a bad ſtate of health when Brutus left *Italy*, where ſhe is ſaid to have parted from him with the utmoſt grief and floods of tears, as if conſcious that ſhe was taking her laſt leave of him: and Plutarch ſays, *that there was a Letter of Brutus extant in his days, if it was genuin, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her in her laſt ſickneſs:* this however is certain, that in a Letter to Atticus, he gives a hint *of Portia's indiſpoſition, with a ſlight compliment to Atticus for his care of her* [*d*]: and the following Letter of condolence to him from Cicero, can hardly be applied to any other occaſion but that of her death.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

" I ſhould perform the ſame office which you
" formerly did in my loſs, of comforting you
" by

[*b*] Ad Brut. 2.
[*c*] App. l. iv. 699. Dio. l. 47. 356. Val. Max. 4. 6.
[*d*] Valetudinem *Porciæ* mea tibi curæ eſſe, non miror. Ad Brut. 17.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. "by Letter, did I not know that you cannot "want thoſe remedies in your grief, with which "you relieved mine. I wiſh onely that you "may now cure yourſelf more eaſily than at "that time you cured me: for it would be "ſtrange in ſo great a man as you, not to be "able to practiſe what he had preſcribed to "another. As for me, not onely the reaſons "which you then collected, but your very au-"thority deterred me from indulging my ſor-"row to exceſs. For when you thought me "to behave myſelf, with greater ſoftneſs than "became a man, eſpecially one who uſed to "comfort others, you chid me with more ſe-"verity than it was uſual for you to expreſs: "ſo that, out of a reverence to your judg-"ment, I rouſed myſelf: and by the acceſſion "of your authority, took every thing that I "had learnt or read, or heard on that ſubject, "to have the greater weight. Yet my part, "Brutus, at that time was onely to act agree-"ably to duty and to Nature: but your's, as "we ſay, is to be acted *on the ſtage*, and be-"fore the people. For when the eyes, not one-"ly of your army, but of all the City, nay, of "all the world, are upon you, it is wholly in-"decent for one, by whom we other mortals "are made the ſtouter, to betray any dejection "or want of courage. You have ſuffered, in-"deed, a great loſs; (for you have loſt that, "which has not left its fellow on earth) and "muſt be allowed to grieve under ſo cruel a "blow; leſt to want all ſenſe of grief ſhould "be thought more wretched than grief itſelf: "but to do it with moderation, is both uſeful to "others, and neceſſary to yourſelf. I would "write more, if this was not already too much:

"we

"we expect you and your army: without A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.
"which, tho' all other things succede to our
"wishes, we shall hardly ever be free [*e*]."

As the time of chusing Magistrates now drew on, and particularly of filling up *the Colleges of Priests*, in which there were many vacancies; so Brutus was sending home many of his young Nobles to appear as Candidates at the election; the two Bibulus's, Domitius, Cato, Lentulus, whom he severally recommends to Cicero's protection. Cicero was desirous *that his son also should come with them, to be elected a Priest*; and wrote to Brutus, to know his mind about it; and, if he thought proper, to send him away immediately; for tho' he might be chosen in absence, yet his success would be much easier if he was present [*f*]. He touches this little affair in several of his Letters; but finding the public disorders increase still every day, he procured *the election of Priests to be thrown off to the next year:* and Brutus having sent him word in the mean while, *that his son had actually left him, and was coming towards* Rome, he instantly dispatched a messenger, to meet him on the road, with orders to send him back again, tho' he found him landed in *Italy: since nothing*, he says, *could be more agreeable either to himself, or more honorable to his son, than his continuance with Brutus* [*g*].

NOT

[*e*] Ibid. 9.

[*f*] Sed quamvis liceat absentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt præsentibus faciliora—ad Brut. 5.

[*g*] Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scripsisses, statim extrusi tabellarios, litterasque ad Ciceronem ut etiam si in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret. Nihil enim mihi jucundius, illi honestius. Quamquam aliquoties ei scripseram, sacerdotum comitia, mea summa contentione in alterum annum esse rejecta. &c. Ad Brut. 14. vid. it. 5, 6, 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. NOT long after the battle of *Modena*, the news of Dolabella's *defeat and death from* Asia, brought a fresh occasion of joy to Cicero, and his friends at *Rome*. Dolabella, after his success against Trebonius, having pillaged that Province of it's money, and of all things useful for war, marched forward to execute his grand design upon *Syria*; for which he had been making all this preparation: but Cassius was beforehand with him, and having got possession of that Country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. Dolabella however made his way with some success thro' *Cilicia*, and came before *Antioch* in *Syria*, but was denied admittance into it; and after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to *Laodicea*; which had before invited, and now opened it's gates to him. Here Cassius came up with him, and presently invested the place: where, after he had destroyed Dolabella's fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea, as well as land: till Dolabella, seeing no way to escape, and the Town unable to hold out any longer, *killed himself, to prevent his falling alive into Cassius's hands*, and suffering the same treatment, which he had shewn to Trebonius: but Cassius generously ordered his body to be buried, with that *of his Lieutenant Octavius, who killed himself also with him* [*b*].

D. BRUTUS was now at last pursuing Antony, or rather observing the motions of his flight: he had with him, besides his own forces, *the new Legions* of the late Consuls, while all the Veterans put themselves under the command of Octavius:

[*b*] Ep. fam. 12, 13, 15. App. l. 4. 625. Dio. l. 47. 344.

Octavius: so that after Antony was joined by Ventidius with three Legions, Brutus was hardly strong enough either to fight with him, or, what he rather aimed at, to hinder his crossing the *Alps* to Lepidus. He desired Cicero therefore, *to write to Lepidus, not to receive him, though he was sure*, he says, *that Lepidus would never do any thing that was right*; and wishes likewise, *that Cicero would confirm* Plancus; since by some of Antony's papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived, *that Antony had not lost all hopes of him*; *and thought himself sure of Lepidus and Pollio.* Of which he gave Plancus immediate notice, and signified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him [*i*]. But he complains much in all his Letters, of his want of money, and the sad condition of his army; which was not contemptible for the number, but the kind of his troops; being of the most part, *new raised men, bare and needy of all things* [*k*]. "I cannot, says he, "maintain my soldiers any longer. When I "first undertook to free the Republic, I had "above *three hundred thousand pounds* of my "own in money: but now am so far from ha- "ving any thing, that I have involved all my "friends in debt for me. I have seven Legi- "ons to provide for; consider with what diffi- A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

[*i*] In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum Lepidum mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit, Antonio sibi conjuncto. —Mihi persuasissimum est, Lepidum recte facturum nunquam.— Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro; quem spero, pulso Antonio, Reipub. non defuturum.—Ep. fam. xi. 9.

Antonius ad Lepidum proficiscitur, ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abjecit, ut ex libellis suis animadverti, qui in me inciderunt. Ib. 11.

[*k*] Cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis. Ib. 19.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. "culty: had I the treaſures of Varro, I could "not ſupport the expence [*l*]." He deſired therefore a preſent ſupply of money, and ſome Veteran Legions, eſpecially *the fourth and Martial*, which continued ſtill with Octavius. This was decreed to him readily with the Senate, at the motion *of Druſus and Paulus, Lepidus's brother* [*m*]: but Cicero wrote him word, "that "all, who knew thoſe Legions the beſt, affirm-"ed, that they would not be induced by any "terms to ſerve under him: that money how-"ever ſhould certainly be provided for him"— and concludes by obſerving, "that if Lepidus "ſhould receive Antony, it would throw them "again into great difficulties: but that it was "Brutus's part, to take care that they ſhould "have no cauſe to fear the event: for as to "himſelf, that he could not poſſibly do more, "than he had already done: but wiſhed to ſee "D. Brutus the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious "of men [*n*]."

PLANCUS, as it is hinted above, was carrying on a negociation with Lepidus, to unite their forces againſt Antony: it was managed on Plancus's ſide by Furnius; on Lepidus's, by Laterenſis,

[*l*] Alere jam milites non poſſum. Cum ad Rempub. liberandam acceſſi. H. S. mihi fuit pecuniæ c c c c amplius. Tantum abeſt ut meæ rei familiaris liberum ſit quidquam, ut omnes jam meos amicos ære alieno obſtrinxerim. Septenum numerum nunc legionum alo, qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, ſi Varronis theſauros haberem, ſubſiſtere ſumptui poſſem, ib. 10.

[*m*] Ep. fam. xi. 19.

[*n*] Legionem Martiam & quartam negant, qui illas norunt, ulla conditione ad te poſſe perduci. Pecuniæ, quam deſideras, ratio poteſt haberi, eaque habebitur — ego plus quam feci, facere non poſſum. Te tamen, id quod ſpero, omnium maximum & clariſſimum videre cupio. Ib. 14.

Laterensis, one of his Lieutenants; a true friend to the Republic, and zealous to engage his General to his interests; and Lepidus himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of his sincerity; so that Plancus was marching forward in great haste to join with him; of which he gave Cicero a particular account. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

"AFTER I had written my Letters, I "thought it of service to the public, that you "should be informed of what has since happened. My diligence, I hope, has been of use "both to myself and to the Commonwealth: "for I have been treating with Lepidus by perpetual messages; that laying aside all former "quarrels, he would be reconciled, and succour the Republic in common with me, and "shew more regard to himself, his children, "and the City, than to a desperate abandoned "Robber; in which case he might depend on "my service and assistance for all occasions: I "transacted the affair by Laterensis. He pawned his faith, that if he could not keep Antony out of his Province, he would pursue him, "by open war; begged that I would come "and join forces with him, and so much the "more, because Antony was said to be strong "in Horse; whereas Lepidus's could hardly be "called indifferent: for not many days before, "even out of his small number, ten, who were "reckoned his best, came over to me. As "soon as I was informed of this, I resolved "without delay, to support Lepidus in the execution of his good intentions: I saw, of "what benefit my joining him would be, either "for pursuing and destroying Antony's Horse

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. "with mine, or for correcting and reſtraining, "by the preſence of my army, the corrupt and "diſaffected part of Lepidus's. Having made "a bridge therefore in one day over the *Iſere*, "a very great river in the territory of the *Allo-* "*broges*, I paſſed with my army on the twelfth "of *May:* but having been informed that "L. Antony was ſent before with ſome Horſe "and Cohorts to *Forum Julii*, I had ſent my "brother the day before with four thouſand "Horſe to meet with him, intending to follow "myſelf by great journeys with four Legions, "and the reſt of my Horſe, without the hea- "vy baggage. If we have any tolerable for- "tune for the Republic, we ſhall here put an "end to the audaciouſneſs of the deſperate; "and to all our own trouble: but if the Rob- "ber, upon hearing of my arrival, ſhould run "back again into *Italy*, it will be Brutus's part "to meet with him there: who will not be "wanting, I know either in counſil, or cou- "rage: but if that ſhould happen, I will ſend "my brother alſo with the Horſe, to follow "and preſerve *Italy* from being ravaged by "him. Take care of your health, and love "me as I love you [*o*]."———

BUT Lepidus was acting all the while a treacherous part, being determined at all hazards to ſupport Antony; and tho' he kept him at a diſtance for ſome time, and ſeemed to be conſtrained at laſt by his own ſoldiers to receive him; yet that was onely to ſave appearances, till he could do it with advantage and ſecurity to them both: his view in treating with Plancus was probably to amuſe and draw him ſo near

[*o*] Ep. x. 15.

near to them, that when he and Antony were actually joined, they might force him into the same measures, without his being able to help it, or to retreat from them. When he was upon the point therefore of joining camps with Antony, he sent word to Plancus, who was within forty miles of him, to stay where he then was, till he should come up to him: but Plancus suspecting nothing, thought it better still to march on; till Laterensis, perceiving how things were turning, wrote him word in all haste, *that neither Lepidus nor his army were to be trusted; and that he himself was deserted*; exhorting "Plancus to look to himself, lest he should be "drawn into a Snare, and to perform his duty "to the Republic; for that he had discharged "his faith, by giving him this warning, *&c.* "[*p*]." A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

PLANCUS gave Cicero a particular account of all these transactions; he acquaints him, "that Lepidus and Antony joined their camps "on the twenty-eighth of *May*, and the same "day marched forward towards him: of all "which he knew nothing, till they were come "within twenty miles of him: that upon the "first intelligence of it, he retreated in all haste; "repassed the *Isere*, and broke down the bridges "which he had built upon it, that he might "have leisure to draw all his forces together, "and join them with his Collegue D. Brutus, "whom he expected in three days——that

[*p*] At Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo chirographo mittit mihi litteras, in eisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de Lepidi fide, querensque se destitutum: in quibus aperte denunciat, videam ne fallar: suam fidem solutam esse Reipub. ne desim.—Ib. 21.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. "Laterenſis, whoſe ſingular fidelity he ſhould "ever acknowledge, when he found himſelf "duped by Lepidus, laid violent hands upon "himſelf; but being interrupted in the act, "was thought likely to live——he deſires that "Octavius might be ſent to him with his for- "ces; or if he could not come in perſon, that "his army however might be ſent, ſince his "intereſt was ſo much concerned in it — that "as the whole body of the rebels was now "drawn into one Camp, they ought to act a- "gainſt them with the whole force of the Re- "public. *&c.* [*q*]"

THE day after his union with Antony, Lepidus wrote a ſhort Letter to the Senate, wherein, "he calls the gods and men to witneſs, that "he had nothing ſo much at heart as the pub- "lic ſafety and liberty; of which he ſhould "ſhortly have given them proofs had not for- "tune prevented him: for that his ſoldiers, by "a general mutiny and ſedition, had plainly "forced him to take ſo great a multitude of "Citizens under his protection. He beſeeches "them, that laying aſide all their private "grudges, they would conſult the good of the "whole Republic; nor in a time of civil diſ- "ſention treat his clemency, and that of his "army, as criminal and traiterous [*r*]."

D. BRUTUS on the other hand joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him for ſome time with great concord, and the affection of the whole Province on their ſide: which being ſignified in their common Letters to *Rome*, gave great hopes ſtill and courage to all the honeſt there. In a Letter of Plancus to Cicero, "you "know,

[*q*] Ep. fam. x. 23. [*r*] Ibid. 35.

" know, says he, I imagine, the state of our A. Urb 710.
" forces: in my camp there are three veteran Cic. 64.
" Legions, with one new, but the best of all
" others of that sort: in Brutus's, one veteran
" Legion, another of two years standing, eight
" of new levies: so that our whole army is
" great in number, little in strength: for what
" small dependence there is in a fresh soldier,
" we have oft experienced to our cost. If the
" *African* troops, which are veteran, or Cæsar's
" should join us, we should willingly put all
" to the hazard of a battel: as I saw Cæsar's
" to be the neareſt, so I have never ceased to
" press him, nor he to assure me that he would
" come instantly, tho' I perceive that he had
" no such thought, and is quite gone off into
" other measures: yet I have sent our friend
" Furnius again to him, with Letters and in-
" structions, if he can possibly do any good
" with him. You know, my dear Cicero, that
" as to the love of young Cæsar, it belongs to
" me in common with you: for on the account
" either of my intimacy with his uncle when
" alive, it was necessary for me to protect and
" cherish him; or because he himself, as far as
" I have been able to observe, is of a most
" moderate and gentle disposition; or that af-
" ter so remarkable a friendship with C. Cæsar,
" it would be a shame for me not to love him,
" even as my own child, whom he had adopted
" for his son. But what I now write, I write
" out of grief, rather than ill-will: that An-
" tony now lives: that Lepidus is joined with
" him; that they have no contemptible army;
" that they have hopes, and dare pursue them,
" is all intirely owing to Cæsar. I will not re-
" call what is long since passed: but if he had

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. "come at the time, when he himſelf declared "that he would, the war would have been ei- "ther now ended, or removed, to their great "diſadvantage, into *Spain*, a Province utterly "averſe to them. What motive, or whoſe coun- "ſils drew him off from a part ſo glorious, "nay, ſo neceſſary too, and ſalutary to him- "ſelf, and turned him ſo abſurdly to the "thoughts of a *two months Conſulſhip*, to the "terror of all people, I cannot poſſibly com- "prehend. His friends ſeem capable of doing "much good on this occaſion, both to himſelf "and the Republic; and above all others, you; "to whom he has greater obligations than any "man living, except myſelf; for I ſhall never "forget that I am indebted to you for the "greateſt. I have given order to Furnius to "treat with him on theſe affairs; and if I had "as much authority with him as I ought, "ſhould do him great ſervice. We in the mean "time have a very hard part to ſuſtain in the "war: for we neither think it ſafe to venture "a battel, nor yet by turning our backs, to "give the enemy an opportunity of doing "greater miſchief to the Republic: but if ei- "ther Cæſar would regard his honor, or the "*African* Legions come quickly, we ſhall make "you all eaſy from this quarter. I beg you to "continue your affection to me, and aſſure "yourſelf that I am ſtrictly yours [*s*]."

UPON the news of Lepidus's *union with* Antony, the Senate, after ſome little time ſpent in conſidering the effect of it, being encouraged by the concord of D. Brutus and Plancus, and depending on the fidelity of their united forces, voted

[*s*] Ep. fam. x. 24.

voted Lepidus *an enemy, on the thirtieth of* June; *and demolished the guilt statue, which they had lately erected to him; reserving still a liberty to him and his adherents of returning to their duty by the first of* September [*t*]. Lepidus's wife was M. Brutus's sister; by whom he had sons, whose fortunes were necessarily ruined by this vote, which confiscated the Father's estate: for which reason Servilia, their grandmother, and Cassius's *wife*, their aunt, sollicited Cicero very earnestly, either *that the decree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it:* but Cicero could not consent to oblige them: for since the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course: he gave Brutus however a particular account of the case by Letter. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"THOUGH I was just going to write to you "by Messala Corvinus, yet I would not let our "friend Vetus come without a Letter. The "Republic, Brutus, is now in the utmost dan- "ger, and after we had conquered, we are "forced again to fight, by the perfidy and mad- "ness of M. Lepidus. On which occasion, "when for the care, with which I have charged "myself, of the Republic, I had many things "to make me uneasy, yet nothing vexed me "more, than that I could not yield to the "prayers of your mother and sister; for I ima- "gined, that I should easily satisfy you, on "which

[*t*] Lepidus tuus affinis, meus familiaris prid. Kal. Quint. sententiis omnibus hostis a Senatu judicatus est; cæterique qui una cum illo a Repub. defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante Kal. Sept. potestas facta est. Ep. fam. 12. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. " which I lay the greateſt ſtreſs. For Lepi-
" dus's caſe could not by any means be diſtin-
" guiſhed from Antony's; nay in all people's
" judgment, was even worſe; ſince after he
" had received the higheſt honors from the Se-
" nate, and but a few days before had ſent an
" excellent Letter to them; on a ſudden, he
" not only received the broken remains of our
" enemies, but now wages a moſt cruel war a-
" gainſt us by land and ſea; the event of which
" is wholly uncertain. When we are deſired
" therefore to extend mercy to his children, not
" a word is ſaid, why, if their Father ſhould
" conquer, (which the Gods forbid) we are
" not to expect the laſt puniſhment from him.
" I am not ignorant how hard it is, that
" Children ſhould ſuffer for the crimes of their
" Parents: but it was wiſely contrived by the
" laws, that the love of their Children ſhould
" make Parents more affectionate to their Coun-
" try. Wherefore it is Lepidus who is cruel
" to his children, not he, who adjudges Lepi-
" dus an enemy: for if, laying down his arms,
" he were to be condemned onely of violence,
" in which no defence could be made for him,
" his children would ſuffer the ſame calamity
" by the confiſcation of his eſtate. Yet what
" your mother and ſiſter are now ſolliciting
" againſt, in favour of the children, the very
" ſame and much worſe, Lepidus, Antony,
" and our other enemies are at this very mo-
" ment threatning to us all. Wherefore our
" greateſt hope is in you and your army: it is
" of the utmoſt conſequence both to the Re-
" public in general, and to your honour and
" glory in particular, that, as I wrote to you
" before, you come as ſoon as poſſible into
" *Italy*;

" *Italy* : for the Republic is in great want not A. Urb. 710.
" onely of your forces, but of your counſils. I Cic. 64.
" ſerved Vetus with pleaſure, as you deſired
" me, for his ſingular benevolence and duty to
" you : I found him extremely zealous and af-
" fectionate both to you and the Republic : I
" ſhall ſee my Son, I hope very ſoon ; for I
" depend on his coming with you quickly to
" *Italy* [*u*]."

BRUTUS, before he had received this Letter, having heard from other friends, what they were deſigning at *Rome* againſt Lepidus, wrote about the ſame time, and on the ſame ſubject to Cicero.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

" OTHER people's fears oblige me to enter-
" tain ſome apprehenſions myſelf on Lepidus's
" account : if he ſhould withdraw himſelf from
" us, (which will prove, I hope, a raſh and,
" injurious ſuſpicion of him) I beg and beſeech
" you, Cicero, conjuring you by our friend-
" ſhip and your affection to me, to forget that
" my ſiſter's children are Lepidus's ſons, and
" to conſider me in the place of their Father.
" If I obtain this of you, you will not ſcruple,
" I am ſure, to do whatever you can for them.
" Other people live differently with their
" friends : but I can never do enough for my
" ſiſter's children, to ſatisfy either my inclina-
" tion or my duty. But what is there, in which
" honeſt men can oblige me, (if in reality I
" have deſerved to be obliged in any thing)
" or in which I can be of ſervice to my mother,
" ſiſter, and the boys ; if their uncle Brutus
" has

[*u*] Ad Brut. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. " has not as much weight with you and the Senate, to protect, as their Father Lepidus, " to hurt them ? I feel so much uneasiness and " indignation, that I neither can, nor ought to " write more fully to you : for if, in any case so " important and so necessary, there could be " any occasion for words, to excite and confirm " you, there is no hope that you will do what " I wish, and what is proper. Do not expect " therefore any long prayers from me: consider " onely what I am : and that I ought to obtain " it ; either from Cicero, a man the most intimately united with me ; or without regard to " our private friendship, from a consular Senator of such eminence : pray send me word, as " soon as you can, what you resolve to do. " *July* the first [*x*]."

CICERO perceiving from this Letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a stress Brutus laid on procuring this favor for his Nephews, prevailed with the Senate to suspend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more settled [*y*].

LEPIDUS and Antony were no sooner joined, than a correspondence was set on foot between them and Octavius ; who from the death of the Consuls, shewed but little regard to the authority of Cicero, or the Senate ; and wanted onely a pretence for breaking with them. He waited however a while, to see what became of Antony ; till finding himself received and supported by Lepidus, he began to think it his best scheme, to enter into the league with them ; and to concur

[*x*] Ibid. 13.

[*y*] Sororis tuæ filiis quam diligenter consulam, spero te ex matris & ex sororis litteris cogniturum, &c. ib. 15. it. 18.

tur in what seemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the design of revenging the death of his Uncle. Instead therefore of prosecuting the war any farther, he was perswaded by his friends to make a demand of the Consulship, though he was not yet above *twenty years old.* This step shocked and terrified the City; not that the Consulship could give him any power, which his army had not already given; but as it indicated a dangerous and unseasonable ambition, grounded on a contempt of the laws and the Senate; and above all raised a just apprehension of some attempt against the public liberty: since, instead of leading his army, where it was wanted and desired, against their enemies abroad, he chose to march with it towards *Rome*, as if he intended to subdue the Republic itself. A. Urb. 710 Cic. 64.

THERE was a report spread in the mean while through the Empire, that Cicero *was chosen Consul:* Brutus mentioning it in a Letter to him, says, *If I should ever see that day, I shall then begin to figure to myself the true form of a Republic, subsisting by its own strength* [z]. It is certain, that he might have been declared Consul, by the unanimous suffrages of the people, if he had desired it; but in times of such violence, the title of supreme Magistrate without a real power to support it, would have exposed him onely to more immediate danger and insults from the soldiers; *whose fastidious insolence in their demands*, was grown, as he complains, insupportable [a]. Some old writers say, what the

[z] His litteris scriptis te Consulem factum audivimus; tum vero incipiam proponere mihi Rempub. justam & jam suis nitentem viribus, si illuc videro. Ad Brut. 4.

[a] Illudimur, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum Imperatoris insolentia. Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. the moderns take implicitly from them, that he was duped, and drawn in by Octavius, to favor his pretenſions to the Conſulſhip, by the hopes of being made his Collegue, and governing him in the office [*b*]. But the contrary is evident from ſeveral of his Letters; and that of all men, he was the moſt averſe to Octavius's deſign, and the moſt active in diſſuading him from purſuing it. Writing upon it to Brutus; "as to "Cæſar, ſays he, who has been governed hither- "to by my advice, and is indeed of an excel- "lent diſpoſition, and wonderful firmneſs, ſome "people by moſt wicked Letters, meſſages, "and fallacious accounts of things, have puſh- "ed him to an aſſured hope of the Conſul- "ſhip: as ſoon as I perceived it, I never cea- "ſed admoniſhing him in abſence, nor re- "proaching his friends, who are preſent, and "who ſeem to encourage his ambition: nor did "I ſcruple to lay open the ſource of thoſe trai- "terous counſils in the Senate: nor do I ever "remember the Senate and the Magiſtrates to "have behaved better on any occaſion: for it "never happened before in voting an extraor- "dinary honor to a powerful, or rather moſt "powerful man, (ſince power is now meaſu- "red by force and arms) that no Tribun, or "any other magiſtrate, nor ſo much as a pri- "vate Senator would move for it: yet in the "midſt of all his firmneſs and virtue, the City "is greatly alarmed: for we are abuſed, Bru- "tus, both by the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, "and the inſolence of the general. Every one "demands, to have as much power in the ſtate, "as he has means to extort it: no reaſon, no "mode-

[*b*] Plutar. in Cic.

" moderation, no law, no cuſtom, no duty is " at all regarded; no judgment or opinion of " the Citizens; no ſhame of poſterity, *&c.* " [*c*]."

WHAT Cicero ſays in this Letter, is very remarkable, *that in all this heighth of young Cæſar's power, there was not a Magiſtrate, nor ſo much as a ſingle Senator, who would move for the decree of his Conſulſhip:* the demand of it therefore was made by *a deputation of his officers*; and when the Senate received it more coldly than they expected, Cornelius, *a Centurion, throwing back his robe and ſhewing them his ſword, boldly declared, that if they would not make him Conſul, that ſhould.* But Octavius himſelf ſoon put an end to their ſcruples, *by marching with his legions in an hoſtile manner to the City* [*d*]; *where he was choſen Conſul with Q. Pedius, his Kinſman,* and coheir in part of his Uncle's eſtate, in the month of *Sextilis*, which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honors, was called afterwards from his own ſurname, *Auguſtus* [*e*]. A. Urb. 710 Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

THE firſt act of his Magiſtracy was, to ſecure all the public mony, which he found in *Rome*, and make a dividend of it to his ſoldiers. He complained loudly of the Senate, " that " inſtead

[*c*] Ad Brut. 10.

[*d*] Conſulatum vigeſimo ætatis anno invaſit, admotis hoſtiliter ad urbem legionibus, miſſiſque, qui ſibi exercitus nomine depoſcerent. Cum quidem cunctante Senatu, Cornelius Centurio, princeps legationis, rejecto ſagulo, oſtendens gladii capulum, non dubitaſſet in curia dicere; hic faciet, ſi vos non feceritis. Sueton. Aug. c. 26.

[*e*] Sextilem menſem è ſuo cognomine nominavit, magis quam Septembrem, in quo erat natus, quia hoc ſibi & primus Conſulatus, &c. Suet. Aug. 31.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" inſtead of paying his army the rewards, which " they had decreed to them, they were contri- " ving to harraſs them with perpetual toils, and " to engage them in freſh wars againſt Lepidus " and Antony: and likewiſe, that in the com- " miſſion granted to ten Senators, to provide " lands for the Legions after the war, they " had not named him [*f*]." But there was no juſt grounds for any ſuch complaint; for thoſe rewards were not decreed, nor intended to be diſtributed, till the war was quite ended; and the leaving Cæſar out of the commiſſion, was not from any particular ſlight, but a general exception of all, *who had the command of armies*, as improper to be employed in ſuch a charge; though Cicero indeed was of a different opinion, *and preſſed for their being taken in.* D. Brutus and Plancus were excluded as well as Cæſar; and both of them ſeem likewiſe to have been diſguſted at it; ſo that CICERO, who was one of the number, in order to retrieve the imprudence of a ſtep, which gave ſuch offence, *would not ſuffer his Collegues to do any thing of moment, but reſerv'd the whole affair to the arrival of Cæſar and the reſt* [*g*].

BUT Cæſar, being now wholly bent on changing ſides and meaſures, was glad to catch at every occaſion of quarrelling with the Senate: he charged them, *with calling him a boy, and treating*

ing

[*f*] Appian. 3. 581.

[*g*] Cum ego ſentiſſem, de iis qui exercitus haberent, ſententiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui ſolent, reclamarunt. Itaque excepti etiam eſtis, me vehementer repugnante — itaque cum quidam de Collegis noſtris agrariam curationem liguirent, diſturbavi rem, totamque integram vobis reſervavi. Ep. fam. xi. 21. it. 20, 23.

ing him as such [*b*]; and found a pretext also against Cicero himself, whom after all the services received from him, his present views obliges him to abandon: for some busy informers had told him, *that Cicero had spoken of him in certain ambiguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of advancing, or taking him off* ——which Octavius was desirous to have reported every where, and believed in the worst sense. D. Brutus gave Cicero the first notice of it in the following Letter. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

D. BRUTUS, Emperor, Consul Elect to M. T. CICERO.

" WHAT I do not feel on my own account, " my love and obligations to you make me feel " on yours; that is, fear. For after I had " been often told, what I did not wholly slight, " Labeo Segulius, a man always like himself, " just now informs me, that he has been with " Cæsar, where there was much discourse on " you: that Cæsar himself had no other com- " plaint against you, but for a certain saying, " which he declared to have been spoken by " you; *that the young man was to be praised, " adorned, taken off* [*i*]; but he would not be " so silly, he said, as to put it into any man's " power *to take him off*. This, I dare say, " was first carried to him, or forged by Segu- " lius himself, and did not come from the young " man. Segulius had a mind likewise to per- " suade me, that the Veterans talk most angri-

[*b*] Dio. l. 46. 318. Suet. Aug. 12.

[*i*] Laudandum, adolescentem, ornandum, *tollendum*. Which last word signifies, either to *raise to honors*, or *take away life*.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" ly againſt you; that you are in danger " from them; that the chief cauſe of their " anger is, becauſe neither Cæſar nor I am in " the commiſſion of the ten, but all things " tranſacted by your will and pleaſure: upon " hearing this, though I was then upon my " march, I did not think it proper to paſs the " *Alps*, till I could firſt learn, how matters " were going amongſt you, *&c.* [*k*]".

To this CICERO anſwered:

" THE Gods confound that Segulius, the " greateſt knave, that is, or was, or ever will " be. What, do you imagine, that he told " his ſtory only to you, and to Cæſar? he told " the ſame to every ſoul, that he could ſpeak " with: I love you, however, my Brutus, as " I ought; for acquainting me, with it, how " trifling ſoever it be: 'tis a ſure ſign of your " affection. For as to what Segulius ſays, of " the complaint of the Veterans, becauſe you " and Cæſar were not in the commiſſion: I " wiſh, that I was not in it myſelf; for what " can be more troubleſome? but when I propo- " ſed, that thoſe, who had the command of " armies, ſhould be included in it; the ſame " men, who uſed to oppoſe every thing, re- " monſtrated againſt it; ſo that you were ex- " cepted, wholly againſt my vote and opinion, " *&c.* [*l*]."

As for the ſtory of *the words*, he treats it, we ſee, as too contemptible to deſerve an apology, or the pains of diſclaiming it; and it ſeems indeed incredible, than a man of his prudence could ever ſay them. If he had harboured ſuch a thought, or had been tempted on any occaſion to

[*k*] Ep. fam. xi. 20. [*l*] Ibid. 21.

to throw out such a hint, we might have expected to find it in his Letters to Brutus: yet on the contrary he speaks always of Octavius, in terms highly advantageous, even where he was likely to give disgust by it. But nothing was more common, than to have *sayings* forged for *his*, which he had never spoken; and this was one of that sort; contrived to instil a jealousy into Octavius, or to give him a handle at least for breaking with Cicero, which, in his present circumstances, he was glad to lay hold of: and when the story was once become public, and supposed to have gained credit with Octavius, it is not strange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, Velleius and Suetonius; though not without an intimation from the latter of its suspected credit [*m*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

WHILE the City was in the utmost consternation on Cæsar's approach with his army, *two Veteran Legions from* Afric happened to arrive in the *Tiber*, and were received as a succour sent to them from heaven; but this joy lasted not long; for presently after their landing, being corrupted by the other soldiers, they deserted the Senate, who sent for them, and joined themselves to Cæsar. Pollio likewise, about the same time, with *two of his best Legions from* Spain, came to the assistance of Antony and Lepidus; so that all the Veterans of the western part of the Empire were now plainly forming themselves into one body, to revenge the death of their old General. The consent of all these armies, and the unexpected turn of Antony's affairs, staggered the fidelity of Plancus, and induced him also at last, to desert his Collegue D.

[*m*] Vell. Pat. 2. 62. Sueton. Aug. c. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

Brutus, with whom he had hitherto acted with much ſeeming concord: Pollio made his peace, and good terms for him with Antony and Lepidus; and ſoon after brought him over to their Camp with all his troops.

D. BRUTUS being thus abandoned and left to ſhift for himſelf, with a needy, mutinous army; eager to deſert, and ready to give him up to his enemies; had no other way to ſave himſelf, than by flying to his name-ſake in *Macedonia:* but the diſtance was ſo great, and the country ſo guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till having diſmiſſed all his attendants, and wandered for ſome time alone in diſguiſe and diſtreſs, he committed himſelf to the protection of an old acquaintance an hoſt, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery or accident, he was ſurprized by Antony's ſoldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their General [*n*].

SEVERAL of the old writers have reproached his memory with a ſhameful cowardice in the manner of ſuffering his death; unworthy of the man who had killed Cæſar, and commanded armies. But their accounts are ſo various, and ſo inconſiſtent with the character of his former life, that we may reaſonably ſuſpect them to be forged by thoſe, who were diſpoſed to throw all kinds of contumely *on the murtherers of Cæſar* [*o*].

BUT what gave the greateſt ſhock to the whole Republican party, was a law contrived by Cæſar, and publiſhed by his Collegue Pedius, *to*

[*n*] Vell. Pat. 2. 64. App. l. 3. 581. Max. 9. 13. [*o*] Senec. Ep. 82. 543. Dio. l. 46. 325. Val.

to bring to trial and juſtice all thoſe, who had been concerned, either in adviſing, or effecting Cæſar's death: in conſequence of which, all the conſpirators were preſently impeached in form by different accuſers; and as none of them ventured to appear to their citations, they were all condemned of courſe; and by a ſecond law *interdicted from fire and water:* Pompey alſo, though he had born no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcileable enemy to *the Cæſarian cauſe:* after which, Cæſar, to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, diſtributed to the Citizens *the Legacies which his Uncle had left them by will* [*p*]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

Cicero foreſaw, that things might poſſibly take this turn, and Plancus himſelf prove treacherous; and for that reaſon was conſtantly preſſing Brutus and Caſſius *to haſten to* Italy, as the moſt effectual means to prevent it: every ſtep that Cæſar took, confirmed his apprehenſions, and made him more importunate with them to come, eſpecially after the union of Antony and Lepidus. In his Letters to Brutus, "Fly to us, ſays he, I beſeech you, and exhort Caſſius to the ſame; for there is no hope of liberty but from your troops [*q*]. If you have any regard for the Republic, for which you were born, you muſt do it inſtantly; for the war is renewed by the inconſtancy of Lepidus; and Cæſar's army, which was the beſt, is not onely of no ſervice to us, but even obliges us to call for your's: as ſoon as

[*p*] App. l. 3. 586. Dio. 46. 322.

[*q*] Quamobrem advola, obſecro — hortare idem per litteras Caſſium. Spes libertatis nuſquam niſi in veſtrorum caſtrorum principiis eſt, Ad Brut. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" ever you touch *Italy*, there is not a man, " whom we can call a Citizen, who will not " immediately be in your Camp. We have D. " Brutus indeed happily united with Plancus: " but you are not ignorant, how changeable " mens minds are, and how infected with party, " and how uncertain the events of war: nay, " ſhould we conquer, as I hope we ſhall, there " will be a want of your advice and authority to " ſettle all affairs. Help us therefore for God's " ſake; and as ſoon as poſſible; and aſſure " yourſelf, that you did not do a greater ſer- " vice to your Country on *the Ides of March*, " when you freed it from ſlavery, than you will " do by coming quickly [*r*]."

AFTER many remonſtrances of the ſame kind, he wrote alſo the following Letter.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

" After I had often exhorted you by Letters to " come as ſoon as poſſible to the relief of the Re- " public, and bring your army into *Italy*, and ne- " ver imagined, that your own people had any " ſcruples about it; I was deſired by that moſt " prudent and diligent woman, your Mother, " all whoſe thoughts and cares are employed on " you, that I would come to her on the twenty " fourth of *July*; which I did, as I ought, " without delay. When I came, I found Caſ- " ca, Labeo, and Scaptius with her. She pre- " ſently entered into the affair, and aſked my " opinion, whether we ſhould ſend for you to " *Italy*;

[*r*] Subveni igitur, per Deos idque quam primum; tibique perſuade, non te *Idibus Martiis*, quibus ſervitutem a tuis civibus repulisti, plus profuiſſe patriæ, quam, ſi mature veneris, profuturum. Ib. 14.

" *Italy*; and whether I thought it beſt for you A. Urb. 710.
" to come, or to continue abroad. I declared, Cic. 64.
" what I took to be the moſt for your honor Coſſ.
" and reputation, that without loſs of time you C. Cæsar
" ſhould bring preſent help to the tottering and Octavia-
" declining ſtate. For what miſchief may not nus.
" one expect from that war, where the con- Q. Pedius.
" quering armies refuſed to purſue a flying ene-
" my; where a General unhurt, unprovoked,
" poſſeſſed of the higheſt honors, and the
" greateſt fortunes, with a wife, children, and
" near relation to you, has declared war againſt
" the Commonwealth? I may add, where in
" ſo great a concord of the Senate and People,
" there reſides ſtill ſo much diſorder within the
" walls; but the greateſt grief which I feel,
" while I am now writing, is to reflect, that
" when the Republic had taken my word for *a*
" *youth*, or rather *a boy*, I ſhall hardly have it
" in my power, to make good what I promiſed
" for him. For it is a thing of much greater
" delicacy and moment, to engage oneſelf for
" another's ſentiments and principles, eſpecial-
" ly in affairs of importance, than for money:
" for money may be paid, and the loſs itſelf
" be tolerable: but how can you pay what you
" are engaged for to the Republic, unleſs he,
" for whom you ſtand engaged, will ſuffer it to
" be paid? yet I am ſtill in hopes, to hold him;
" though many are plucking him away from
" me: for his diſpoſition ſeems good, though
" his age be flexible: and many always at
" hand to corrupt him; who, by throwing in
" his way the ſplendor of falſe honor, think
" themſelves ſure of dazzling his good ſenſe
" and underſtanding. Wherefore to all my o-
" ther labours this new one is added, of ſetting

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" all engines at work to hold faſt the young
" man, leſt I incur the imputation of raſhneſs.
" Though what raſhneſs is it after all? for in
" reality, I bound him for whom I was enga-
" ged, more ſtrongly than myſelf: nor has the
" Republic as yet any cauſe to repent, that I
" was his ſponſor: ſince he has hitherto been
" the more firm and conſtant in acting for us,
" as well from his own temper, as for my pro-
" miſe. The greateſt difficulty in the Repub-
" lic, if I miſtake not, is the want of money:
" for honeſt men grow every day more and
" more averſe to the name of Tribute; and
" what was gathered from the hundredth penny,
" where the rich are ſhamefully rated, is all
" ſpent in rewarding the two Legions. There
" is an infinite expence upon us, to ſupport the
" armies, which now defend us; and alſo yours;
" for our Caſſius ſeems likely to come ſufficient-
" ly provided. But I long to talk over this,
" and many other things with you in perſon:
" and that quickly. As to your ſiſters chil-
" dren, I did not wait, Brutus, for your wri-
" ting to me: the times themſelves, ſince the
" war will be drawn into length, reſerve the
" whole affair to you: but from the firſt, when
" I could not foreſee the continuance of the war,
" I pleaded the cauſe of the children in the Se-
" nate, in a manner, which you have been in-
" formed of, I gueſs, by your mother's Let-
" ters: nor can there ever be any caſe, where
" I will not both ſay and do, even at the ha-
" zard of my life, whatever I think agreeable
" either to your inclination, or to your intereſt.
" The twenty-ſixth of *July* [*s*]."

IN

[*s*] Ad Brut. 18.

In a Letter likewise to Cassius, he says, A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius. "we wish to see you in *Italy*, as soon as possible; "and shall imagine, that we have recovered "the Republic, when we have you with us. We "had conquered nobly, if Lepidus had not "received the routed, disarmed, fugitive, An- "tony: wherefore Antony himself was never "so odious to the City, as Lepidus is now: "for he began a war upon us from a turbulent "state of things; this man from peace and vic- "tory. We have the Consuls elect to oppose "him: in whom indeed we have great hopes; "yet not without an anxious care for the un- "certain events of battels. Assure yourself there- "fore, that all our dependance is on you, and "your Brutus; that you are both expected, "but Brutus immediately, *&c.* [*t*]"

But after all these repeated remonstrances of Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius seem to have entertained the least thought of coming with their armies to *Italy*. Cassius indeed, by being more remote, could not come so readily, and was not so much expected as Brutus? who, before the battel of *Modena*, had drawn down all his legi- ons to the sea-coast, and kept them at *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, waiting the event of that ac- tion, and ready to embark for *Italy*, if any ac- cident had made his assistance necessary; for which Cicero highly commends him [*u*]. But upon the news of Antony's defeat, taking all the danger to be over, he marched away directly to the remotest parts of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to oppose

[*t*] Ep. fam. 12. 10.

[*u*] Tuum consilium vehementer laudo, quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioq; movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Ad Brut. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

oppoſe the attempts of Dolabella; and from that time ſeemed deaf to the call of the Senate, and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him ſo ſtrongly to come to their Relief. It is difficult at this diſtance to penetrate the motives of his conduct: he had a better opinion of Lepidus, than the reſt of his party had; and being naturally poſitive, might affect to ſlight the apprehenſions of Lepidus's treachery, which was the chief ground of their calling ſo earneſtly for him. But he had other reaſons alſo, which were thought to be good; ſince ſome of his friends at *Rome*, as we may collect from Cicero's Letter, were of a different mind from Cicero, on the ſubject of his coming. They might ſuſpect the fidelity of his troops; and that they were not ſufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be truſted in the field againſt the Veterans, in *Italy*; whoſe example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might poſſibly induce them to deſert, as the other armies had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motive, D. Brutus, who was the beſt judge of the ſtate of things at home, was intirely of Cicero's opinion: he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with Veteran armies, diſaffected to the cauſe of liberty; knew the perfidy of Lepidus: the ambition of young Cæſar; and the irreſolution of his Collegue Plancus; and admoniſhed Cicero therefore in all his Letters, to urge his namefake to haſten his march to them [*x*]. So that on the whole, it ſeems reaſonable to believe, that if Brutus and Caſſius had marched with their armies

[*x*] De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi. Quem ego, quemadmodum præcipis, privatis litteris ad bellum commune vocare non deſino. Ep. fam. xi. 25. it. 26.

armies towards *Italy*, at the time when Cicero first preſſed it, before the defection of Plancus, and the death of Decimus, it muſt have prevented the immediate ruin of the Republic. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

THE want of money, of which Cicero complains at this time, as the greateſt evil that they had to ſtruggle with, is expreſſed alſo very ſtrongly in another Letter to Cornificius, the Proconſul of *Afric*; who was urging him to provide a fund for the ſupport of his Legions:

" As to the expence, ſays he, which you have " made, and are making in your military pre- " parations, it is not in my power to help you; " becauſe the Senate is now without a head, by " the death of the Conſuls, and there is an in- " credible ſcarcity of money in the treaſury; " which we are gathering however from all " quarters, to make good our promiſes to the " troops, that have deſerved it of us; which " cannot be done, in my opinion, without a tri- " bute [*y*]." This tribute was a ſort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's ſubſtance, but had been wholly diſuſed in *Rome*, from the conqueſt of *Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius*, which furniſhed money and rents ſufficient to eaſe the city ever after of that burthen, till the neceſſity of the preſent times obliged them to renew it [*z*]. But from what Cicero intimates of

[*y*] De ſumtu, quem te in rem militarem facere & feciſſe dicis, nihil ſane poſſum tibi opitulari, propterea quod & orbus Senatus, Conſulibus amiſſis, & incredibiles anguſtiæ pecuniæ publicæ, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 30.

[*z*] At Perſe Rege devicto Paullus, cum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam Urbis noſtræ paupertatem eo uſque ſatiaſſet, ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus tributi præſtandi onere ſe liberaret. —— Val. Max. 4. 3. it. Plin. Hiſt. N. 33. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

of the general averſion to the revival of it, one cannot help obſerving the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected even the honeſt part of *Rome:* who, in this utmoſt exigency of the Republic, were ſhocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax; and would not part with the leaſt ſhare of their money, for the defence even of their liberty: the conſequence of which was, what it muſt always be in the like caſe, that by ſtarving the cauſe, they found not only their fortunes, but their lives alſo ſoon after at the mercy of their enemies. Cicero has a reflection in one of his ſpeeches, that ſeems applicable alſo to the preſent caſe, and to be verified by the example of theſe times. "The Republic, ſays he, is attacked always "with greater vigor, than it is defended: for "the audacious and profligate, prompted by "their natural enmity to it, are eaſily impelled to act upon the leaſt nod of their leaders: "whereas the honeſt, I know not why, are "generally ſlow and unwilling to ſtir; and "neglecting always the beginnings of things, "are never rouſed to exert themſelves, but by "the laſt neceſſity: ſo that through irreſolution "and delay, when they would be glad to compound at laſt for their quiet, at the expence "even of their honour, they commonly loſe "them both [*a*]."

THIS obſervation will ſerve to vindicate the conduct of Caſſius, from that charge of violence and cruelty, which he is ſaid to have practiſed, in exacting money and other neceſſaries from the Cities of *Aſia*. He was engaged in an inexpiable war, where he muſt either conquer, or periſh

[*a*] Pro Sextio 47.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

riſh with the Republic itſelf, and where his Legions were not only to be ſupported but rewarded: the revenues of the Empire were exhauſted; contributions came in ſparingly; and the ſtates abroad were all deſirous to ſtand neuter; as doubtful of the iſſue, and unwilling to offend either ſide. Under theſe difficulties where money was neceſſary, and no way of procuring it but force, extortion became lawful; the neceſſity of the end juſtified the means; and when the ſafety of the Empire, and the liberty of *Rome* were at ſtake, it was no time to liſten to ſcruples. This was Caſſius's way of reaſoning, and the ground of his acting; who applied all his thoughts to ſupport the cauſe, that he had undertaken; and kept his eyes, as Appian ſays, *wholly fixed upon the war, as a Gladiator upon his Antagoniſt* [*b*].

BRUTUS, on the other hand, being of a temper more mild and ſcrupulous, contented himſelf generally with the regular methods of raiſing money; and from his love of Philoſophy, and the politer ſtudies, having contracted an affection for the Cities of *Greece*, inſtead of levying contributions, uſed to divert himſelf, whereever he paſſed, with ſeeing *their games and exerciſes, and preſiding at their philoſophical diſputations*; as if travelling rather for curioſity, than to provide materials for a bloody war [*c*]. When he and Caſſius therefore met, the difference of their circumſtances ſhewed the different effects of

[*b*] Ὁ μὲν Κασσιος ἀμεταστρεπτὶ, καθάπερ ἐς τὴν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα. App. l. 4. 667.

[*c*] Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος, ὑπηγώνιστο, καὶ φιλοθεαμῶν ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἅτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ἐκ ἀγενῶς. Ibid.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

of their conduct. Caſſius, without receiving a penny from *Rome*, came rich and amply furniſhed with all the ſtores of war; Brutus, who had received large remittances from *Italy*, came empty and poor, and unable to ſupport himſelf without the help of Caſſius; who was forced to give him a third part of that treaſure, which he had been gathering with ſo much envy to himſelf for the common ſervice [*d*].

WHILE Cicero was taking all this pains, and ſtruggling thus gloriouſly in the ſupport of their expiring liberty, Brutus, who was naturally peeviſh and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in *Italy*, and judging of counſils by events, was diſpoſed at laſt to throw all the blame upon him; charging him chiefly, *that, by a profuſion of honours on young Cæſar*, he had inſpired him with an ambition, incompatible with the ſafety of the Republic, and armed him with that power, which he was now employing to oppreſs it: whereas the truth is, that by thoſe honors Cicero did not intend to give Cæſar any new power, but to apply that, which he had acquired by his own vigor, to the public ſervice and the ruin of Antony: in which he ſucceeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents, which could not be foreſeen. For it is evident from the facts above mentioned, that he was always jealous of Cæſar, and inſtead of increaſing, was contriving ſome check to his authority, till by the death of the Conſuls, he ſlipt out of his hands, and became too ſtrong to be managed by him any longer. Brutus, by being at ſuch a diſtance,

[*d*] Plutarch. in Bruto.

ſtance, was not well apprized of the particular grounds of granting thoſe honors; but Decimus, who was all the while in *Italy*, ſaw the uſe and neceſſity of them, and ſeems to hint in ſome of his Letters, *that they ought to have decreed ſtill greater* [e]. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

But whatever Brutus, or any one elſe may have ſaid, if we reflect on Cicero's conduct, from the time of Cæſar's death to his own, we ſhall find it in all reſpects uniform, great and glorious; never deviating from the grand point, which he had in view, the liberty of his country: whereas, if we attend to Brutus's, we cannot help obſerving in it, ſomething ſtrangely various and inconſiſtent with itſelf. In his outward manners and behaviour, he affected the rigor of a Stoic, and the ſeverity of an old *Roman*; yet by a natural tenderneſs and compaſſion, was oft betrayed into acts of an effeminate weakneſs. To reſtore the liberty of his country, he killed his Friend and Benefactor; and declares, that for the ſame cauſe *he would have killed even his Father* [f]: yet he would not take Antony's life, though it was a neceſſary ſacrifice to the ſame cauſe. When *Dolabella had baſely murdered Trebonius, and Antony* openly approved the act, he could not be perſuaded to make repriſals on C. Antony: but through a vain oſtentation of clemency, ſuffered him to live, though with danger to himſelf. When his brother in law Lepidus

[e] Mirabiliter, mi Brute, lætor, mea conſilia, meaſque ſententias a te probari, de Decemviris, de ornando adoleſcente. Ep. fam. xi. 14. it. 20.

[f] —— Non conceſſerim, quod in illo non tuli, ſed *ne patri quidem meo*, ſi reviviſcat, ut, patiente me, plus legibus ac Senatu poſſit, [ad Brut. 16.] ſed dominum, ne *parentem* quidem, majores noſtri voluerunt eſſe. [ib. 17.]

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

Lepidus *was declared an enemy*, he expreſſed an abſurd and peeviſh reſentment of it, for the ſake of his nephews, as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes, if the Republic was ever reſtored: or if not, in their Father's. How contrary is this to the ſpirit of that old Brutus, from whom he derived his deſcent, and whom in his general conduct he pretended to imitate? He blames Cicero for *diſpenſing honors too largely*, yet claims an infinite ſhare of them to himſelf; and when he had ſeized by his private authority, what the Senate, at Cicero's motion, confirmed to him, the moſt extraordinary command, which had been granted to any man: he declares himſelf *an enemy to all extraordinary commiſſions*, in what hands ſoever they were lodged [g]: this inconſiſtency in his character would tempt us to believe, that he was governed in many caſes by the pride and haughtineſs of his temper, rather than by any conſtant and ſettled Principles of Philoſophy, of which he is commonly thought ſo ſtrict an obſerver.

CICERO however, notwithſtanding the peeviſhneſs of Brutus, omitted no opportunity of ſerving and ſupporting him to the very laſt: as ſoon as he perceived Cæſar's intention of revenging his Uncle's death, he took all imaginable pains to diſſuade him from it, and never ceaſed from exhorting him by Letters to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the obſervance of that *amneſty*, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. This was certainly the

[g] Ego certe—cum ipſa re bellum geram, hoc eſt cum regno, & imperiis extraordinariis & dominatione & potentia. —— ad Brut. 17.

the beſt ſervice, which he could do, either to Brutus, or the Republic; and Atticus imagining that Brutus would be pleaſed with it, ſent him a copy of what Cicero had written on that ſubject: but inſtead of pleaſing, it provoked Brutus only the more: he treated it as baſe and diſhonourable, to aſk any thing of a boy, or to imagine the ſafety of Brutus to depend on any one but himſelf: and ſignified his mind upon it, both to Cicero and Atticus in ſuch a ſtile, as confirms what Cicero had long before obſerved, and more than once declared of him, *that his Letters were generally churliſh, unmannerly and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what, or to whom he was writing* [*b*]. But their own Letters to each other will be the beſt vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the ſureſt judgment of the different ſpirit and conduct of the men. After Brutus therefore had frequently intimated his diſſatisfaction and diſlike of Cicero's management, Cicero took occaſion, in the following Letter, to lay open the whole progreſs of it, from the time of Cæſar's death, in order to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of each ſtep.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

Cicero to Brutus.

"You have Messala now with you. It "is not poſſible therefore for me to explain by "Letter, though ever ſo accurately drawn, the "preſent ſtate of our affairs ſo exactly as he, "who not onely knows them all more perfect-"ly, but can deſcribe them more elegantly than "any man: for I would not have you imagine, "Brutus, (though there is no occaſion to tell

[*b*] Ad Att. 6. 1, 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" you, what you know already yourſelf, but
" that I cannot paſs over in ſilence ſuch an ex-
" cellence of all good qualities:) I would not
" have you imagine, I ſay, that for probity,
" conſtancy and zeal for the Republic, there
" is any one equal to him; ſo that eloquence,
" in which he wonderfully excells, ſcarce finds
" a place among his other praiſes: ſince even
" in that, his wiſdom ſhines the moſt eminent,
" by his having formed himſelf with ſo much
" judgment and ſkill to the trueſt manner of
" ſpeaking. Yet his induſtry all the while is
" ſo remarkable, and he ſpends ſo much of his
" time in ſtudy, that he ſeems to owe but little
" to his parts, which ſtill are the greateſt. But
" I am carried too far by my love for him: for
" it is not the purpoſe of this Epiſtle to praiſe
" Meſſala, eſpecially to Brutus, to whom his
" virtue is not leſs known, than to myſelf;
" and theſe very ſtudies, which I am praiſing,
" ſtill more; whom when I could not part with
" without regret, I comforted myſelf with re-
" flecting, that by his going away to you, as it
" were, to my ſecond ſelf, he both diſcharged
" his duty, and purſued the ſureſt path to glo-
" ry. But ſo much for that [*i*]. I come now,
" after

[*i*] Publius Valerius Meſſala Corvinus, of whom Cicero here gives ſo fine a character, was one of the nobleſt as well as the moſt accompliſhed perſons of his age, who lived long afterwards the general favorite of all parties, and a principal ornament of Auguſtus's court. Being in arms with Brutus, he was proſcribed of courſe by *the Triumvirate*, yet was excepted ſoon after by a ſpecial edict; but refuſed the benefit of that grace, and adhered to the cauſe of liberty, till he ſaw it expire with his friend. After the battle of *Philippi*, the troops that remained, freely offered themſelves to his command; but he choſe to accept peace, to which he was invited

" after a long interval, to consider a certain Letter of yours, in which, while you allow me " to have done well in many things, you find " fault with me for one; that in conferring " honors, I was too free, and even prodigal " You charge me with this; others probably " with being too severe in punishing, or you " yourself perhaps with both: if so, I desire " that my judgment and sentiments on each " may be clearly explained to you: not that I

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

invited by the Conquerors, and surrendered himself to Antony, with whom he had a particular acquaintance. When Cæsar was defeated not long after by S. Pompey on the coast of *Sicily*, being in the utmost distress and danger of life, he committed himself with one domestic to the fidelity of Messala; who instead of revenging himself on one, who had so lately proscribed and set a price upon his head, generously protected and preserved him. He continued still in the friendship of Antony, till the scandal of Antony's life, and slavish obsequiousness to Cleopatra, threw him wholly into the interests of Cæsar, by whom he was declared Consul in Antony's place, greatly intrusted in the battel of *Actium*; and honored at last with a triumph, for reducing the rebellious *Gauls* to their obedience. He is celebrated by all writers, as one of the first orators of *Rome*; and having been the disciple of Cicero, was thought by some to excell even his master, in the sweetness and correctness of his stile, preserving always a dignity, and demonstrating his nobility, by the very manner of his speaking. To the perfection of his eloquence he had added all the accomplishments of the other liberal arts; was a great admirer of Socrates, and the severer studies of Philosophy, yet an eminent patron of all the Wits and Poets of those times. Tibullus was the constant companion of all his foreign expeditions, which he celebrates in his Elegies; and Horace in one of his odes, calls for his choicest wines, for the entertainment of so noble a guest. Yet this polite and amiable man, impaired by sickness, and worn out at last by age, is said to have outlived his senses and memory, till he had forgotten even his very name. See App. p. 611. 736. Tacit. Dial. 18. Quintil. x. 1. Tibul. Eleg. lib. 1. 7. Hor. Carm. 3. 21. Plin. Hist. N. 7. 24.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" mean to juſtify myſelf by the authority of " Solon, the wiſeſt of the ſeven, and the onely " Legiſlator of them all; who uſed to ſay, that, " the public weal was comprized in two things, " *rewards and puniſhments*; in which however, " as in every thing elſe, a certain medium and " temperament is to be obſerved. But it is " not my deſign at this time to diſcuſs ſo great " a ſubject: I think it proper onely, to open " the reaſons of my votes and opinions in the Se- " nate, from the beginning of this war. After " the death of Cæſar, and thoſe your memora- " ble *Ides of March*, you cannot forget, Brutus, " what I declared to have been omitted by you, " and what a tempeſt I foreſaw hanging over " the Republic: you had freed us from a great " plague; wiped off a great ſtain from the *Ro-* " *man* people; acquired to yourſelves divine " glory; yet all the equipage and furniture of " Kingly power was left ſtill to Lepidus and " Antony; the one inconſtant, the other vi- " cious; both of them afraid of peace, and ene- " mies to the public quiet. While theſe men " were eager to raiſe freſh diſturbances in the " Republic, we had no guard about us to op- " poſe them; though the whole City was " eager and unanimous in aſſerting its liberty: " I was then thought too violent; while you " perhaps more wiſely withdrew yourſelves " from that city, which you had delivered, " and refuſed the help of all *Italy*, which offer- " ed to arm itſelf in your cauſe. Wherefore " when I ſaw the city in the hands of traitors, " oppreſſed by the arms of Antony, and that " neither you nor Caſſius could be ſafe in it; I " thought it time for me to quit it too: for a " City overpowered by traitors, without the

" means

" means of relieving itſelf, is a wretched ſpec- A. Urb. 710.
" tacle: Yet my mind, always the ſame, and Cic. 64.
" ever fixed on the love of my Country, could Coſſ.
" not bear the thought of leaving it in it's di- C. Cæsar
" ſtreſs: in the midſt therefore of my voyage to Octavia-
" *Greece*, and in the very ſeaſon of the *Eteſian* nus.
" winds, when an uncommon South wind, as Q. Pedius.
" if diſpleaſed with my reſolution, had driven
" me back to *Italy*, I found you at *Velia*, and
" was greatly concerned at it: for you were re-
" treating, Brutus; were retreating, I ſay;
" ſince your *Stoics* will not allow their wiſe man
" *to fly*. As ſoon as I came to *Rome*, I ex-
" poſed myſelf to the wickedneſs and rage of
" Antony; and when I had exaſperated him
" againſt me, began to enter into meaſures. in
" the very manner of the Brutus's, (for ſuch
" are peculiar to your blood) for delivering the
" Republic. I ſhall omit the long recital of
" what followed, ſince it all relates to myſelf;
" and obſerve only, that young Cæſar, by
" whom, if we will confeſs the truth, we ſub-
" ſiſt at this day, flowed from the ſource of my
" counſils. I decreed him no honors, Brutus,
" but what were due; none but what were ne-
" ceſſary: for as ſoon as we began to recover
" any liberty, and before the virtue of D. Bru-
" tus had yet ſhewn itſelf ſo far, that we could
" know its divine force; and while our whole
" defence was in the boy, who repelled Anto-
" ny from our necks; what honor was not
" really due to him? though I gave him no-
" thing yet, but the praiſe of words; and that
" but moderate. I decreed him indeed a legal
" command: which though it ſeemed honor-
" able to one of that age, was yet neceſſary
" to one who had an army: for what is an army

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" without the command of it? Philip voted
" him a statue; Servius the privilege of suing
" for offices before the legal time; which was
" shortned still by Servilius: nothing was then
" thought too much: but we are apt, I know
" not how, to be more liberal in fear, than
" grateful in success. When D. Brutus was
" delivered from the siege, a day of all others
" the most joyous to the city, which happen-
" ed also to be his birth-day, I decreed, that
" his name should be ascribed for ever to that
" day in the public *Kalendars*. In which I
" followed the example of our ancestors, who
" paid the same honor to a woman, Larentia;
" at whose altar you Priests perform sacred rites
" in the *Velabrum*: by giving this to D. Bru-
" tus, my design was, to fix in the Kalendars
" a perpetual memorial of a most acceptable
" victory: but I perceived on that day, that
" there was more malevolence than gratitude,
" in many of the Senate. During these same
" days, I poured out honors (since you will have
" it so) on the deceased Hirtius, Pansa and A-
" quila: and who can find fault with it, but
" those who, when fear is once over, forget
" their past danger? But besides the grateful
" remembrance of services, there was an use in
" it, which reached to posterity: for I was de-
" sirous, that there should remain an eternal
" monument of the public hatred to our most
" cruel enemies. There is one thing I doubt,
" which does not please you; for it does not
" please your friends here; who, though ex-
" cellent men, have but little experience in
" public affairs; that I decreed *an ovation* to
" Cæsar: but for my part, (though I may per-
" haps be mistaken, for I am not one of

" those,

" thoſe, who approve nothing, but what is my own;) I cannot but think, that I have adviſed nothing more prudent during this war. Why it is ſo, is not proper to be explained, leſt I be thought to have been more provident in it than grateful: but even this is too much: let us paſs therefore to other things. I decreed honors to D. Brutus; decreed them to Plancus: they muſt be men of great ſouls who are attracted by glory: but the Senate alſo is certainly wiſe, in trying every art that is honeſt, by which it can engage any one to the ſervice of the Republic. But I am blamed in the caſe of Lepidus: to whom after I had raiſed a ſtatue in the Roſtra, I preſently threw it down. My view in that honor was, to reclaim him from deſperate meaſures; but the madneſs of an inconſtant man got the better of my prudence; nor was there yet ſo much harm in erecting, as good in demoliſhing the Statue. But I have ſaid enough concerning honors; and muſt ſay a word or two about puniſhments: for I have often obſerved from your Letters, that you are fond of acquiring a reputation of clemency, by your treatment of thoſe whom you have conquered in war. I can imagine nothing to be done by you, but what is wiſely done: but to omit the puniſhing of wickedneſs (which we call pardoning) tho' it be tolerable in other caſes, I hold to be pernicious in this war. Of all the civil wars that have been in my memory, there was not one, in which, what ſide ſoever got the better, there would not have remained ſome form of a Commonwealth: yet in this, what ſort of a Republic we are like to have if we conquer, I would not eaſily affirm; but

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" if we are conquered, we are ſure to have
" none. My votes therefore were ſevere againſt
" Antony; ſevere againſt Lepidus: not from
" any ſpirit of revenge, but to deter wicked
" Citizens at preſent from making war againſt
" their Country; and to leave an example to
" poſterity, that none hereafter ſhould imitate
" ſuch raſhneſs. Yet this very vote was not
" more mine, than it was every body's: in
" which there ſeems, I own, to be ſomething
" cruel, that the puniſhment ſhould reach to
" children, who have done nothing to deſerve
" it: but the conſtitution is both ancient, and
" of all Cities; for even Themiſtocles's chil-
" dren were reduced to want: and ſince the
" ſame puniſhment falls upon Citizens, con-
" demned of public crimes, how was it poſſible
" for us to be more gentle towards enemies?
" But how can that man complain of me, who,
" if he had conquered, muſt needs confeſs that
" he would have treated me even with more
" ſeverity? You have now the motives of my
" opinions in the caſe of rewards and puniſh-
" ments: for as to other points, you have
" heard, I imagine, what my ſentiments and
" votes have been. But to talk of theſe things
" now is not neceſſary; what I am going to
" ſay, is extremely ſo, Brutus; that you come
" to *Italy* with your army as ſoon as poſſible.
" We are in the utmoſt expectation of you:
" whenever you ſet foot in *Italy*, all the world
" will fly to you: for whether it be our lot to
" conquer, (as we had already done, if Lepi-
" dus had not been deſirous to overturn all,
" and periſh himſelf with his friends) there will
" be a great want of your authority, for the
" ſettling ſome ſtate of a City amongſt us; or

" if

" if there be any danger and ſtruggle ſtill be- A. Urb. 710.
" hind, haſten to us for God's ſake: for you Cic. 64.
" know, how much depends on opportunity, Coſſ.
" how much on diſpatch. What diligence I C. CÆSAR
" ſhall uſe in the care of your ſiſter's children, OCTAVIA-
" you will ſoon know, I hope, from your mo- NUS.
" ther's and ſiſter's Letters: in whoſe cauſe I Q. PEDIUS.
" have more regard to your will, which is ever
" moſt dear to me, than, as ſome think, to my
" own conſtancy; but it is my deſire both to
" be, and to appear conſtant, in nothing ſo
" much as in loving you [*k*]."

BRUTUS to CICERO.

" I HAVE read a part of your Letter, which
" you ſent to Octavius, tranſmitted to me by
" Atticus. Your zeal and concern for my ſafe-
" ty gives me no new pleaſure: for it is not
" onely common, but our daily news, to hear
" ſomething, which you have ſaid or done with
" your uſual fidelity, in the ſupport of my ho-
" nor and dignity. Yet that ſame part of your
" Letter affected me with the moſt ſenſible
" grief, which my mind could poſſibly receive.
" For you compliment him ſo highly for his
" ſervices to the Republic; and in a ſtrain ſo
" ſuppliant and abject; that,——what ſhall I
" ſay?—I am aſhamed of the wretched ſtate,
" to which we are reduced,—yet it muſt be
" ſaid——you recommend my ſafety to him;
" to which what death is not preferable? and
" plainly ſhew, that our ſervitude is not yet a-
" boliſhed, but our maſter onely changed. Re-
" collect your words, and deny them, if you
" dare, to be the prayers of a ſlave to his King.

" There

[*k*] Ad Brut. 15.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" There is one thing, you ſay, which is required and expected from him, that he would allow thoſe Citizens to live in ſafety, of whom all honeſt men, and the people of *Rome* think well. But what, if he will not allow it? ſhall we be the leſs ſafe for that? It is better not to be ſafe, than to be ſaved by him. For my part, I can never think all the Gods ſo averſe to the preſervation of the *Roman* people, that Octavius muſt be intreated for the life of any one Citizen; much leſs for the deliverers of the world. It is a pleaſure to me to talk thus magnificently; and it even becomes me to thoſe, who know not either, what to fear for any one, or what to aſk of any one. Can you allow Octavius to have this power, and yet be his friend? or if you have any value for me, would you wiſh to ſee me at *Rome*, when I muſt firſt be recommended to the boy, that he would permit me to be there? What reaſon can you have to thank him, if you think it neceſſary to beg of him, that he would grant and ſuffer us to live with ſafety? or is it to be reckoned a kindneſs, that he chuſes to ſee himſelf, rather than Antony, in the condition, to have ſuch petitions addreſſed to him? one may ſupplicate indeed the ſucceſſor, but never the aboliſher of a tyranny, that thoſe, who have deſerved well of the Republic, may be ſafe. It was this weakneſs and deſpair, not more blameable indeed in you, than in all, which firſt puſhed Cæſar to the ambition of reigning; and after his death, encouraged Antony to think of ſeizing his place, and has now raiſed this boy ſo high, that you judge it neceſſary to addreſs your prayers to him for

" the

" the preſervation of men of our rank; and A. Urb. 710.
" that we can be ſaved onely by the mercy of Cic. 64.
" one, ſcarce yet a man; and by no other means. Coſſ.
" But if we had remembered ourſelves to be C. Cæsar
" *Romans*, theſe infamous men would not be Octavia-
" more daring to aim at dominion, than we to nus.
" repell it: nor would Antony be more encou- Q. Pedius.
" raged by Cæſar's reign, than deterred by his
" fate. How can you, a Conſular Senator,
" and the avenger of ſo many treaſons, (by ſup-
" preſſing which, you have but poſtponed our
" ruin I fear, for a time,) reflect on what you
" have done, and yet approve theſe things, or
" bear them ſo tamely, as to ſeem at leaſt to
" approve them? for what particular grudge
" had you to Antony? no other, but that he
" aſſumed all this to himſelf; that our lives
" ſhould be begged of him; our ſafety be pre-
" carious, from whom he had received his li-
" berty; and the Republic depend on his will
" and pleaſure. You thought it neceſſary to
" take arms to prevent him from tyrannizing
" at this rate: but was it your intent, that by
" preventing him, we might ſue to another,
" who would ſuffer himſelf to be advanced into
" his place, or that the Republic might be free
" and miſtreſs of itſelf? as if our quarrel was
" not perhaps to ſlavery, but to the conditions
" of it. But we might have had, not onely
" an eaſy maſter in Antony, if we would have
" been content with that, but whatever ſhare
" with him we pleaſed, of favors and honors.
" For what could he deny to thoſe, whoſe pa-
" tience, he ſaw, was the beſt ſupport of his
" government; but nothing was of ſuch value
" to us, that we ſhould ſell our faith and our
" liberty for it. This very boy, whom the

" name

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" name of Cæſar ſeems to incite againſt the de-
" ſtroyers of Cæſar, at what rate would he value
" it (if there was any room to traffic with him)
" to be enabled by our help, to maintain his
" preſent power; ſince we have a mind to live,
" and to be rich, and to be called Conſulars?
" but then Cæſar muſt have periſhed in vain:
" for what reaſon had we to rejoice at his death,
" if, after it, we were ſtill to continue ſlaves?
" Let other people be as indolent as they pleaſe;
" but may the Gods and Goddeſſes deprive me
" ſooner of every thing, than the reſolution,
" not to allow to the heir of him, whom I
" killed, what I did not allow to the man him-
" ſelf: nor would ſuffer, even in my Father,
" were he living; *to have more power than the*
" *laws and the Senate.* How can you imagine,
" that any one can be free under him, without
" whoſe leave there is no place for us in that
" City? or how is it poſſible for you after all,
" to obtain what you aſk? You aſk, that he
" would allow us to be ſafe. Shall we then
" receive ſafety, think you, when we receive
" life? but how can we receive it, if we firſt
" part with our honor and our liberty? Do
" you fancy, that to live at *Rome* is to be ſafe?
" It is the thing, and not the place, which
" muſt ſecure them to me: for I was never ſafe,
" while Cæſar lived, till I had reſolved on that
" attempt: nor can I in any place live in exil,
" as long as I hate ſlavery and affronts above
" all other evils. Is not this to fall back again
" into the ſame ſtate of darkneſs; when he,
" who has taken upon him the name of the ty-
" rant, (though in the Cities of *Greece*, when
" the Tyrants are deſtroyed, their children alſo
" periſh with them,) muſt be entreated, that

" the

" the avengers of tyranny may be safe? Can I ever wish to see that City, or think it a City, which would not accept liberty when offered, and even forced upon it, but has more dread of the name of their late King, in the person of a boy, than confidence in itself; though it has seen that very King taken off in the heighth of all his power by the virtue of a few? As for me, do not recommend me any more to your Cæsar, nor indeed yourself, if you will hearken to me. You set a very high value on the few years, which remain to you at that age, if for the sake of them you can supplicate that boy. But take care after all, lest what you have done and are doing so laudably against Antony, instead of being praised, as the effect of a great mind, be charged to the account of your fear. For if you are so pleased with Octavius, as to petition him for our safety, you will be thought not to have disliked a Master, but to have wanted a more friendly one. As to your praising him for the things, that he has hitherto done, I intirely approve it: for they deserved to be praised, provided that he undertook them, to repel other men's power, not to advance his own. But when you adjudge him, not only to have this power, but that you ought to submit to it so far, as to entreat him that he would not destroy us; you pay him too great a recompense: for you ascribe that very thing to him, which the Republic seemed to enjoy through him: nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, that if Octavius be worthy of any honors, because he wages war with Antony; that those, who extirpated the very evil, of which these are

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" but

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" but the reliques, can never be ſufficiently re-
" quited by the *Roman* people; though they
" were to heap upon them every thing which
" they could beſtow: but ſee how much ſtronger
" people's fears are, than their memories, be-
" cauſe Antony ſtill lives, and is in arms. As
" to Cæſar, all that could and ought to be done,
" is paſt, and cannot be recalled: is Octavius
" then a perſon of ſo great importance, that the
" people of *Rome* are to expect from him, what
" he will determine upon us? or are we of ſo
" little, that any ſingle man is to be entreated
" for our ſafety? As for me, may I never
" return to you, if ever I either ſupplicate any
" man, or do not reſtrain thoſe, who are diſpo-
" ſed to do it, from ſupplicating for themſelves:
" or I will remove to a diſtance from all ſuch,
" who can be ſlaves, and fancy myſelf at *Rome*,
" where-ever I can live free; and ſhall pity you,
" whoſe fond deſire of life, neither age, nor ho-
" nors, nor the example of other mens virtue
" can moderate. For my part, I ſhall ever
" think myſelf happy, as long as I can pleaſe
" myſelf with the perſuaſion, that my piety has
" been fully requited. For what can be hap-
" pier, than for a man, conſcious of virtuous
" acts, and content with liberty, to deſpiſe all
" human affairs? yet I will never yield to thoſe,
" who are fond of yielding, or be conquered
" by thoſe, who are willing to be conquered
" themſelves; but will firſt try and attempt
" every thing; nor ever deſiſt from dragging
" our City out of ſlavery. If ſuch fortune at-
" tends, as I ought to have, we ſhall all re-
" joice: If not, I ſhall rejoice myſelf. For
" how could this life be ſpent better, than in
" acts and thoughts, which tend to make my
" Country-

" Countrymen free? I beg and beſeech you, A. Urb. 710.
" Cicero, not to deſert the cauſe through weari- Cic. 64.
" neſs or diffidence: in repelling preſent evils, Coſſ.
" have your eye always on the future, leſt they C. CÆSAR
" inſinuate themſelves before you are aware. OCTAVIA-
" Conſider that the fortitude and courage, with NUS.
" which you delivered the Republic, when Con- Q. PEDIUS,
" ſul, and now again when Conſular, are no-
" thing without conſtancy and equability. The
" caſe of tried virtue, I own, is harder than of
" untried: we require ſervices from it, as
" debts; and if any thing diſappoints us, we
" blame with reſentment, as if we had been
" deceived. Wherefore for Cicero to withſtand
" Antony, though it be a part highly com-
" mendable, yet becauſe ſuch a Conſul ſeemed
" of courſe to promiſe us ſuch a Conſular, no
" body wonders at it: but if the ſame Cicero,
" in the caſe of others, ſhould waver at laſt in
" that reſolution, which he exerted with ſuch
" firmneſs and greatneſs of mind againſt Anto-
" ny, he would deprive himſelf, not onely of
" the hopes of future glory, but forfeit even that
" which is paſt: for nothing is great in itſelf,
" but what flows from the reſult of our judge-
" ment: nor does it become any man, more
" than you, to love the Republic, and to be the
" Patron of liberty, on the account either of
" your natural talents, or your former acts, or
" the wiſhes and expectation of all men. Octa-
" vius therefore muſt not be entreated, to ſuffer
" us to live in ſafety. Do you rather rouſe
" yourſelf ſo far, as to think that City in which
" you have acted the nobleſt part, free and
" flouriſhing, as long as there are Leaders ſtill

" to

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

" to the people, to reſiſt the deſigns of Trai-
" tors [*l*]."

IF we compare theſe two Letters, we ſhall perceive in Cicero's an extenſive view and true judgment of things, tempered with the greateſt politeneſs and affection for his friend, and an unwillingneſs to diſguſt where he thought it neceſſary even to blame. In Brutus's a churliſh and moroſe arrogance, claiming infinite honors to

[*l*] Ad Brut. 16.

N. B. There is a paſſage indeed in Brutus's *Letter to* Atticus, where he intimates a reaſon for his complaint againſt Cicero, which was certainly a juſt one, if the fact of which he complains had been true; that Cicero *had reproached Caſca with the murther of Cæſar, and called him an aſſaſſin. I do not know*, ſays he, *what I can write to you but this, that the ambition and licentiouſneſs of the boy has been inflamed, rather than reſtrained by Cicero, who carries his indulgence of him to ſuch a length, as not to refrain from abuſes upon Caſca, and ſuch, as muſt return doubly upon himſelf, who has put to death more Citizens, than one, and muſt firſt own himſelf to be an Aſſaſſin, before he can reproach Caſca, with what he objects to him.* [Ep. ad Brut. 17.] Manutius profeſſes himſelf unable to conceive, how Cicero *ſhould ever call Caſca a murtherer*; yet cannot collect any thing leſs from Brutus's words. But the thing is impoſſible, and inconſiſtent with every word, that Cicero had been ſaying, and every act, that he had been doing from the time of Cæſar's death: and in relation particularly to Caſca, we have ſeen above, how he refuſed to enter into any meaſures with Octavius, but upon the expreſs condition of his ſuffering Caſca to take quiet poſſeſſion of the *Tribunate:* it is certain therefore, that Brutus had either been miſinformed, or was charging Cicero with the conſequential meaning of ſome ſaying, which was never intended by him; in adviſing Caſca perhaps to manage Octavius, in that height of his power, with more temper and moderation, leſt he ſhould otherwiſe be provoked to conſider him as *an Aſſaſſin*, and treat him as ſuch: for an intimation of that kind would have been ſufficient to the fierce ſpirit of Brutus, for taking it as a direct condemnation of Caſca's act of ſtabbing Cæſar, to which Cicero had always given the higheſt applauſe.

to himself, yet allowing none to any body else; insolently chiding and dictating to one, as much superior to him in wisdom as he was in years; the whole turning upon that romantic maxim of *the Stoics*, enforced without any regard to times and circumstances: *that a wise man has a sufficiency of all things within himself.* There are indeed many noble sentiments in it worthy of old *Rome*, which Cicero in a proper season would have recommended as warmly as he; yet they were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in Brutus, because he himself did not always practise what he professed; but was too apt to forget both *the Stoic* and *the Roman.* A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

Octavius had no sooner settled the affairs of the City, and subdued the Senate to his mind, than he marched back towards *Gaul*, to meet Antony and Lepidus; who had already passed *the Alps*, and brought their armies into *Italy*, in order to have a personal interview with him; which had been privately concerted, for settling the terms of *a tripple league*, and dividing the power and provinces of the Empire among themselves. All *the three* were natural enemies to each other; Competitors for Empire; and aiming severally to possess, what could not be obtained but with the ruin of the rest: their meeting therefore was not to establish any real amity or lasting concord, for that was impossible, but to suspend their own quarrels for the present, and with common forces to oppress their common enemies, the friends of liberty and the Republic; without which all their several hopes and ambitious views must invitably be blasted.

A Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

THE place appointed for the interview, was *a ſmall Iſland*, about two miles from *Bononia*, formed by the river *Rhenus*, which runs near to that City [*n*]: here they met, as men of their character muſt neceſſarily meet, not without jealouſy and ſuſpicion of danger from each other, being all attended by their choiceſt troops, each with five Legions, diſpoſed in ſeparate camps within ſight of the Iſland. Lepidus entered it the firſt, as an equal friend to the other two, to ſee that the place was clear, and free from treachery; and when he had given the ſignal agreed upon, Antony and Octavius advanced from the oppoſite banks of the river, and paſſed into the Iſland by bridges, which they left guarded on each ſide by *three hundred of their own men.* Their firſt care inſtead of embracing, was to ſearch one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their cloaths; and when that ceremony was over, Octavius took his ſeat betwixt the other two, in the moſt honorable place, on the account of his being Conſul.

IN this ſituation they ſpent three days in a cloſe conference, to adjuſt the plan of their accommodation; the ſubſtance of which was that *the Three* ſhould be inveſted jointly with ſupreme power for the term of five years, with the title of *Triumvirs, for ſettling the ſtate of the Republic:* that they ſhould act in all caſes by common conſent, nominate the Magiſtrates and Governors both at home and abroad, and determine all affairs relating to the public by their ſole will and pleaſure: that Octavius ſhould have for his peculiar province, *Africa* with *Sicily*,

[*n*] Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. 1. c. 28. p. 187.

cily, Sardinia, and the other Iſlands of the Mediterranean; Lepidus, *Spain*, with the *Narboneſe Gaul*; Antony, the other *two Gauls* on both ſides of the *Alps:* and to put them all upon a level, both in title and authority, that Octavius ſhould reſign the Conſulſhip to Ventidius for the remainder of the year: that Antony and Octavius ſhould proſecute the war againſt Brutus and Caſſius, each of them at the head of *twenty Legions*; and Lepidus with three Legions be left to guard the City: and at the end of the war, that *eighteen Cities or Colonies*, the beſt and richeſt of *Italy*, together with their lands and diſtricts, ſhould be taken from their owners, and aſſigned to the perpetual poſſeſſion of the ſoldiers, as the reward of their faithful ſervices. Theſe conditions were publiſhed to their ſeveral armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their Chiefs; which at the deſire of the ſoldiers was ratified likewiſe by a marriage, agreed to be conſummated between Octavius and Claudia, the daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia, by her firſt huſband P. Clodius. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

THE laſt thing that they adjuſted, was the liſt of *a proſcription*, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the writers tell us, occaſioned much difficulty and warm conteſts among them; till each of them in his turn conſented to ſacrifice ſome of his beſt friends to the revenge and reſentment of his Collegues. The whole liſt is ſaid to have conſiſted *of three hundred Senators, and two thouſand Knights*; all doom'd to die for a crime the moſt unpardonable to Tyrants, their adherence to the cauſe of liberty. They reſerved the publication of the general liſt to their arrival at *Rome*, excepting

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

cepting onely a few of the moſt obnoxious; the Heads of the Republican party, about *ſeventeen* in all: the chief of whom was Cicero. Theſe they mark'd out for immediate deſtruction; and ſent their Emiſſaries away directly to ſurprize and murther them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of this number were preſently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the reſt hunted out by the ſoldiers in private houſes and temples; which preſently filled the City with an univerſal terror and conſternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy: ſo that the Conſul Pedius was forced to run about the ſtreets all the night, to quiet the minds and appeaſe the fears of the people; and as ſoon as it was light publiſhed the names of *the ſeventeen*, who were principally ſought for, with an aſſurance of ſafety and indemnity to all others: but he himſelf was ſo ſhocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that *he died the day following* [o].

WE have no hint from any of Cicero's Letters (for none remain to us of ſo low a date) what his ſentiments were on this interview of *the three Chiefs*; or what reſolution he had taken in conſequence of it. He could not but forſee that it muſt needs be fatal to him, if it paſſed to the ſatisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had ſeveral times declared, that he expected the laſt ſeverity from them, if ever they got the better. But whatever he had cauſe to apprehend, it is certain that it was ſtill in his power to avoid it, by going over to Brutus in *Macedonia:* but he ſeems to have thought that remedy

[o] App. l. 4. init. Dio. p. 326. Plut. in Anton. & Cicero. Vell. Pat. 2. 65.

remedy worſe than the evil; and had ſo great an abhorrence of entring again, in his advanced age, into a civil war, and ſo little value for the few years of life which remained to him, that he declares it *a thouſand times better to die, than to ſeek his ſafety from camps* [p]: and he was the more indifferent about what might happen to himſelf, ſince his ſon was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with Brutus. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

THE old Hiſtorians endeavour to perſuade us, *that Cæſar did not give him up to the revenge of his Collegues without the greateſt reluctance, and after a ſtruggle of two days to preſerve him* [q]: but all that tenderneſs was artificial, and a part aſſumed to give the better colour to his deſertion of him. For Cicero's death was the natural effect of their union, and a neceſſary ſacrifice to the common intereſt of *the Three:* thoſe who met to deſtroy liberty, muſt come determined to deſtroy him; ſince his authority was too great to be ſuffered in an enemy; and experience had ſhewn, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppreſſors of his country.

CÆSAR therefore was pleaſed with it undoubtedly, as much as the reſt; and when his pretended ſqueamiſhneſs was over-ruled, ſhewed himſelf *more cruel and bloody* in urging the Proſcription, than either of the other two [r].

[ ] Reipub. vicem delebo, quæ immortalis eſſe debet; mihi quidem quantulum reliqui eſt? [ad Brut. x.] ἴτεον ergo in caſtra? milles mori melius, huic præſertim ætati: [ad Att. 14. 22.] ſed abeſſe hanc ætatem longe a ſepulchro negant oportere. ib. 16. 7.

[q] Plutar. in Cicer. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

[r] Reſtitit aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proſcriptio, ſed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit, &c. Suet. Aug. 27.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

Nothing, ſays Velleius, *was ſo ſhameful on this occaſion, as that Cæſar ſhould be forced to proſcribe any man; or that Cicero eſpecially ſhould be proſcribed by him* [*s*]. But there was no force in the caſe: for tho', to ſave Cæſar's honor, and to extort, as it were, Cicero from him, Lepidus gave up his own brother, Paullus; and Antony his uncle, L. Cæſar, who were both actually put into the liſt; yet neither of them loſt their lives, but were protected from any harm by the power of their relations [*t*].

IF we look back a little, to make a general view of the conduct of *theſe Triumvirs*, we ſhall ſee Antony rouſed at once by Cæſar's death from the midſt of pleaſure and debauch, and a moſt abject obſequiouſneſs to Cæſar's power, forming the true plan of his intereſt, and purſuing it with a ſurprizing vigor and addreſs; till after many and almoſt inſuperable difficulties, he obtained the ſovereign dominion, which he aimed at. Lepidus was the chief inſtrument that he made uſe of; whom he employed very ſucceſsfully at home, till he found himſelf in condition to ſupport his pretenſions alone, and then ſent to the other ſide of the *Alps*, that in caſe of any diſaſter in *Italy*, he might be provided with a ſecure reſource in his army. By this management he had ordered his affairs ſo artfully, that by conquering at *Modena*, he would have made himſelf probably *the ſole Maſter of* Rome; while the onely difference of being conquered, was to admit *two partners* with him

[*s*] Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut Cæſar aliquem proſcribere coactus eſt, aut ab illo Cicero proſcriptus eſt. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

[*t*] Appian. l. 4. 610. Dio. l. 47. 330.

him into the Empire; the one of whom at leaſt he was ſure always to govern. A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

OCTAVIUS's conduct was not leſs politic or vigorous: he had great parts, and an admirable genius, with a diſſimulation ſufficient to perſuade that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impoſſible for him to ſucceed immediately to his Uncle's power, ſo his firſt buſineſs was, to keep the place vacant till he ſhould be more ripe for it; and to give the excluſion in the mean while to every body elſe. With this view he acted *the Republican* with great gravity; put himſelf under the direction of Cicero; and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his intereſt carried him; that is, *to depreſs Antony, and drive him out of* Italy; who was his immediate and moſt dangerous rival. Here he ſtopt ſhort, and pauſed a while, to conſider what new meaſures this new ſtate of things would ſuggeſt: when by the unexpected death of the two Conſuls, finding himſelf at once the maſter of every thing at home, and Antony, by the help of Lepidus, riſing again the ſtronger from his fall, he ſaw preſently that his beſt chance for Empire was to content himſelf with a ſhare of it, till he ſhould be in condition to ſeize the whole; and from the ſame policy with which he joined himſelf with the Republic to deſtroy Antony, he now joined with Antony to oppreſs the Republic, as the beſt means of ſecuring and advancing his own power.

LEPIDUS was the Dupe of them both; a vain, weak, inconſtant man; incapable of Empire, yet aſpiring to the poſſeſſion of it; and abuſing the moſt glorious opportunity of ſerving his Country, to the ruin both of his Coun-

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

try and himſelf. His wife was the Siſter of M. Brutus, and his true intereſt lay in adhering to that alliance: for if, by the advice of Laterenſis, he had joined with Plancus and D. Brutus to oppreſs Antony, and give liberty to *Rome*, the merit of that ſervice, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would neceſſarily have made him the firſt Citizen of a free Republic. But his weakneſs deprived him of that glory: he flattered himſelf, that the firſt ſhare of power, which he ſeemed at preſent to poſſeſs, would give him likewiſe the firſt ſhare of Empire: not conſidering that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him who poſſeſſes it: in which, as his Collegues far excelled him, ſo they would be ſure always to eclipſe, and whenever they thought it proper, to deſtroy him. This he found afterwards to be the caſe: when Cæſar forced him to beg his life upon his knees, *though at the head of twenty Legions*; *and depoſed him from that dignity*, *which he knew not how to ſuſtain* [*u*].

CICERO was at his *Tuſculan Villa*, with his Brother and Nephew, when he firſt received the news of the *Proſcription*, and of their being included in it. It was the deſign of the Triumvirate to keep it a ſecret, if poſſible, to the moment of execution; in order to ſurprize thoſe, whom they had deſtined to deſtruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to eſcape. But ſome of Cicero's friends found means to give him early notice of it; upon which he ſet forward preſently with his Brother and Nephew towards *Aſtura*; the neareſt Villa which he

[*u*] Spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas. Vell. Pat. 2. 8.

he had upon the sea: with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But Quintus being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to *Rome*, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. Cicero in the mean while found a vessel ready for him at *Astura*, in which he presently embarked: but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed about two leagues along the coast, he landed at *Circæum*, and spent a night near that place in great anxiety and irresolution: the question was, what course he should steer; *and whether he should fly to Brutus, or to Cassius, or to S. Pompeius; but after all his deliberations, none of them pleased him so much as the expedient of dying* [x]: so that, as Plutarch says, he had some thoughts of returning to the City, *and killing himself in Cæsar's house*; in order to leave the guilt and curse of his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude: but the importunity of his servants prevailed with him to sail forwards to *Cajeta*; where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his *Formian Villa*, about a mile from the coast; *weary of life and the sea*; *and declaring, that he would die in that Country, which he had so often saved* [y]. Here he slept soundly

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

[x] Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni, cum cogitasset, unumne Brutum an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suasor. 6.

[y] Tædium tandem eum fugæ & vitæ cepit; regressusque ad superiorem villam, quæ paullo plus mille passibus a mari abest, *moriar inquit in patria, sæpe servata.* Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suasor. 1. vid. it. Plutar. Cic.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

ſoundly for ſeveral hours; tho', as ſome writers tell us, "a great number of Crows were fluttering all the while, and making a ſtrange noiſe about his windows, as if to rouſe and warn him of his approaching fate: and that one of them made its way into the chamber, and pulled away his very bed-cloaths; till his ſlaves, admoniſhed by this prodigy, and aſhamed to ſee brute creatures more ſollicitous for his ſafety than themſelves, forced him into his Litter, or portable Chair," and carried him away towards the ſhip, thro' the private ways and walks of his woods; having juſt heard that ſoldiers were already come into the country in queſt of him, and not far from the Villa. As ſoon as they were gone, the ſoldiers arrived at the houſe: and perceiving him to be fled, purſued immediately towards the ſea, and overtook him in the wood. Their Leader was one Popilius Lænus, a Tribun, or Colonel of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preſerved in a capital cauſe. As ſoon as the ſoldiers appeared, *the ſervants prepared themſelves to fight, being reſolved to defend their maſter's life at the hazard of their own:* but Cicero *commanded them to ſet him down, and to make no reſiſtance* [z]: then looking upon his executioners with a preſence and firmneſs, which almoſt daunted them, and thruſting his neck, as forwardly as he could, out of the Litter, he bad them *do their work, and take what they wanted:* upon which they preſently cut off *his head and both*

[z] Satis conſtat ſervos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuiſſe ad demicandum: ipſum deponi lecticam, & quietos pati, quod ſors iniqua cogeret, juſſiſſe. Liv. Fragment. ibid.

both his hands and returned with them in all haſte and great joy towards *Rome*, *as the moſt agreeable preſent which they could poſſibly carry to Antony*. *Popilius* charged himſelf with the conveyance, without reflecting *on the infamy of carrying that head, which had ſaved his own* [*a*]: he found Antony in the Forum, ſurrounded with guards and crouds of people; but upon ſhewing from a diſtance the ſpoils which he brought, he was rewarded upon the ſpot with *the honor of a Crown, and about eight thouſand pounds ſterling*. Antony ordered *the head to be fixed upon the Roſtra, between the two hands:* a ſad ſpectacle to the City; and what drew tears from every eye; to ſee thoſe mangled members, which uſed to exert themſelves ſo glorioufly from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the *Roman* people, ſo lamentably expoſed to the ſcorn of Sycophants and Traitors. *The deaths of the reſt*, ſays an Hiſtorian of that age, *cauſed onely a private and particular ſorrow; but Cicero's an univerſal one* [*b*]: it was a triumph over the Republic itſelf; and ſeemed to confirm and eſtabliſh the perpetual ſlavery of *Rome*. Antony conſidered it as ſuch, and ſatiated with Cicero's blood, declared the Proſcription at an end.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

He

[*a*] Ea Sarcina, tanquam opimis ſpoliis alacer in urbem reverſus eſt. Neque ei ſceleſtum portanti onus ſuccurrit, illud ſe caput ferre, quod pro capite ejus quondam peroraverat. Val. Max. 5. 3.

[*b*] Cæterorumque cædes privatos luctus excitaverunt; illa una communem—[Cremutius Cordus, apud Senec.] Civitas lacrymas tenere non potuit, quum reciſum Ciceronis caput in illis ſuis Roſtris videretur. L. Flor. 4. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coſſ. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS. Q. PEDIUS.

HE was killed *on the ſeventh* of December; about ten days from the ſettlement of the Triumvirate: after he had lived *ſixty three years, eleven months, and five days* [c].

[c] Vid. Plutar. in Cic. 601. Dio. l. 47. p. 330. Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Liv. Fragm. Pighii Annal. ad. A. U. 710. apud Senec. Appian. l. 4.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

THE ſtory of Cicero's death continued freſh on the minds of the *Romans* for many ages after it; and was delivered down to poſterity with all its circumſtances, as one of the moſt affecting and memorable events of their Hiſtory: ſo that the ſpot, on which it happened, ſeems to have been viſited by travellers with a kind of religious reverence [*a*]. The odium of it fell chiefly on Antony; yet it left a ſtain of perfidy and ingratitude alſo on Auguſtus; which explanes the reaſon of that ſilence, which is obſerved about him, by the writers of that age; and why his name is not ſo much as mentioned either by Horace or Virgil. For though his character would have furniſhed a glorious ſubject for many noble lines, yet it was no ſubject for Court Poets; ſince the very mention of him muſt have been a ſatire on the Prince: eſpecially while Antony lived; among the Sycophants of whoſe Court, it was faſhionable to inſult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent: nay Virgil, on an occaſion, that could hardly fail of bringing him to his mind, inſtead of doing juſtice to his merit, choſe to do an injuſtice rather to *Rome* itſelf, by yielding the ſuperiority of eloquence to *the Greeks*, which they themſelves had been forced to yield to Cicero [*b*].

LIVY

[*a*] Sæpe Clodio Ciceronem expellenti & Antonio occidenti, videmur iraſci. Sen. de ira. 2. 2.

Κικέρων—φεύγων εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καὶ ἱστορίαν τῇδε τῇ παθεῖς εἶδον.

[*b*]—Orabunt cauſas melius, &c. Æn. 6. 849.

LIVY however, whoſe candor made Auguſtus call him *a Pompeian* [*c*], while out of complaiſance to the times, he ſeems to extenuate the crime of Cicero's murther, yet after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, *that to praiſe him as he deſerved, required the eloquence of Cicero himſelf* [*d*]. Auguſtus too, as Plutarch tells us, happening one day to catch his grandſon reading one of Cicero's books, which, for fear of the Emperor's diſpleaſure, the boy endeavoured to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it, gave it back again, and ſaid, *this was a learned man, my child, and a lover of his country* [*e*].

IN the ſucceeding generation, as the particular envy to Cicero ſubſided, by the death of thoſe whom private intereſts and perſonal quarrels had engaged to hate him when living, and defame him when dead, ſo his name and memory began to ſhine out in its proper luſtre: and in the reign even of Tiberius, with an eminent Senator and Hiſto-

[*c*] — T. Livius — Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Auguſtus appellaret. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

[*d*] Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia penſarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, & in cujus laudes ſequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit. Liv. Fragment. apud Senec. Suaſor. 6.

[*e*] Plutar. vit. Cicer. There is another ſtory of the ſame kind recorded by Macrobius, to ſhew Auguſtus's moderation with regard alſo to Cato: that Auguſtus being one day in the houſe, which had belonged to Cato, where the maſter of it, out of compliment to his great gueſt, took occaſion to reflect on Cato's perverſeneſs, he ſtopped him ſhort by ſaying, *that he who would ſuffer no change in the conſtitution of his City, was a good citizen, and honeſt man:* but by this character of Cato's honeſty, he gave a ſevere wound to his own, who not onely changed but uſurped the government of his country. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 4.

Hiſtorian, Cremutius Cordus was condemned to die *for praiſing* Brutus, yet Paterculus could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expoſtulation with Antony, on the ſubject of Cicero's death: "Thou haſt done nothing, "Antony; haſt done nothing, I ſay, by ſetting "a price on that divine and illuſtrious head, and "by a deteſtable reward, procuring the death of "ſo great a Conſul and preſerver of the Repub- "lic. Thou haſt ſnatched from Cicero a trouble- "ſome being; a declining age: a life more mi- "ſerable under thy dominion, than death itſelf; "but ſo far from diminiſhing the glory of his "deeds and ſayings, thou haſt increaſed it. "He lives and will live in the memory of all "ages; and as long as this ſyſtem of nature, "whether by chance or providence, or what "way ſoever formed, which he alone, of all the "*Romans*, comprehended in his mind, and il- "luſtrated by his eloquence, ſhall remain intire, "it will draw the praiſes of Cicero along with "it; and all poſterity will admire his writings "againſt thee, curſe thy act againſt him—— "[*f*]."

FROM this period, all the *Roman* writers, whether Poets or Hiſtorians, ſeem to vie with each other in celebrating the praiſes of Cicero, as the moſt illuſtrious of all their Patriots, and *the parent of the* Roman *wit and eloquence*; who had done more honor to his country *by his writings* than *all their Conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of his learning beyond thoſe of their Empire* [*g*]. So that their very Emperors,

[*f*] Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

[*g*] Facundiæ, latiarumque literarum parens—atque —omnium triumphorum lauream adepte majorem, quanto plus eſt ingenii Romani ter-

rors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class *of their inferior Deities* [*h*]: a rank, which he would have preserved to this day, if he had happened to live in *Papal Rome*, where he could not have failed, as Erasmus says, [*i*] from *the innocence of his life*, of obtaining the honor and title of *a Saint*.

As to his person, he was tall and slender with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preserving a comliness and dignity to the last, with a certain air of chearfulness and serenity, that imprinted both affection and respect [*k*]. His constitution was naturally weak, yet was so confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to support all the fatigues of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with perpetual health and vigor. The care, that he employed upon his body, consisted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens for the refreshment of his voice from the labor of the bar [*l*]: yet in the summer, he generally gave himself the exercise of a journey, to visit his several estates and villa's in different parts of *Italy*. But his principal instrument of health, was diet and temperance:

terminos in tantum promovisse, quam Imperii. Plin. Hist. 7. 30.

Qui effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur. Vell. P. 2. 34.

[*h*] Lamprid. vit. Alex. Sever. c. 31.

[*i*] Quem arbitror, si Christianam philosophiam didicisset, in eorum numero censendum fuisse, qui nunc ob vitam innocenter pieque transactam, pro Divis honorantur. Erasm. Ciceroniam vers. finem.

[*k*] Ei quidem facies decora ad senectutem prosperaque permansit valetudo. Asin. Poll. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

[*l*] Cum recreandæ vocis causa, mihi necesse esset ambulare. Ad. Att. 2. 23. Plutar. in vit.

rance: by these he preserved himself from all violent distempers; and when he happened to be attacked by any slight indisposition, used to enforce the severity of his abstinence, and starve it presently by fasting [*m*].

In his cloaths and dress, which the wise have usually considered as an index of the mind, he observed, what he prescribes in his book of *offices*, a modesty and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanliness, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of singularity; and avoiding the extremes of a rustic negligence and foppish delicacy [*n*]: both of which are equally contrary to true dignity; the one implying an ignorance, or illiberal contempt of it; the other a childish pride and ostentation of proclaiming our pretensions to it.

In his domestic and social life, his behaviour was very amiable: he was a most indulgent parent, a sincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous master. His Letters are full of the tendrest expressions of his love for his children; in whose endearing conversation, as he often tells us, he used to drop all his cares, and relieve himself from all his struggles in the Senate and the Forum [*o*]. The same affection, in an inferior degree, was extended also to his slaves: when

[*m*] Cum quidem biduum ita jejunus fuissem, ut ne aquam quidem gustaram. Ep. fam. 7. 26. vid. Plutar.

[*n*] Adhibenda munditia non odiosa, neque exquisita nimis; tantum quæ fugiat agrestem & inhumanam negligentiam. Eadem ratio est habenda vestitus: in quo sicut in plerisque rebus, mediocritas optima est. De offic. 1. 36.

[*o*] Ut tantum requietis habeam, quantum cum uxore, & filiola, & mellito Cicerone consumitur. Ad Att. 1. 18.

by their fidelity and ſervices they had recommended themſelves to favor. We have ſeen a remarkable inſtance of it in Tiro; whoſe caſe was no otherwiſe different from the reſt, than as it was diſtinguiſhed by the ſuperiority of his merit. In one of his Letters to Atticus, *I have nothing more*, ſays he, *to write: and my mind indeed is ſomething ruffled at preſent, for Socitheus, my reader, is dead, a hopeful youth: which has afflicted me more than one would imagine the death of a ſlave ought to do* [*p*].

HE entertained very high notions of friendſhip; and of its excellent uſe and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illuſtrated in his entertaining treatiſe on that ſubject; where he lays down no other rules, than what he exemplified by his practice. For in all the variety of friendſhips, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deſerting, or even ſlighting any one, whom he had once called his friend, or eſteemed an honeſt man. It was his delight to advance their proſperity, to relieve their adverſity; the ſame friend to both fortunes; but more zealous onely in the bad, where his help was the moſt wanted, and his ſervices the moſt diſintereſted; looking upon it not as a friendſhip, but *a ſordid traffic and merchandize of benefits*, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice eſtimate of gain and loſs [*q*]. He calls gratitude *the mother of virtues*;

[*p*] Nam puer feſtivus, anagnoſtes noſter, Soſitheus deceſſerat, meque plus quam ſervi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. Ad Att. 1. 12.

[*q*] Ubi illa ſancta amicitia? ſi non ipſe amicus per ſe amatur toto pectore. [de leg. 1. 18.] quam ſi ad fructum noſtrum referemus, non ad illius commoda, quem diligimus, non erat iſta amicitia, ſed mercatura quædam utilitatum ſuarum. De Nat. Deor. 1. 44.

tues; reckons it the moſt capital of all duties; and uſes the words, *grateful and good*, as terms ſynonimous, and inſeparably united in the ſame character. His writings abound with ſentiments of this ſort; as his life did with the examples of them [*r*]; ſo that one of his friends, in apologizing for the importunity of a requeſt, obſerves to him with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a ſufficient excuſe for it; ſince he had eſtabliſhed ſuch a cuſtom, *of doing every thing for his friends, that they no longer requeſted, but claimed a right to command him* [*s*].

YET he was not more generous to his friends, than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greateſt injuries, upon the ſlighteſt ſubmiſſion; and though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himſelf, yet when it was in his power to hurt, he ſought out reaſons to forgive; and whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his moſt inveterate enemies; of which there are numerous inſtances in his hiſtory. He declared nothing to be *more laudable and worthy of a great man, than placability*; and laid it down for a natural duty, *to moderate our revenge, and obſerve a temper in puniſhing*; and held *repentance to be a ſufficient ground for remitting it:* and it was one of his ſayings, delivered to a public aſſembly, *that his*

[*r*] Cum omnibus virtutibus me affectum eſſe cupiam, tamen nihil eſt quod malim, quam me & gratum eſſe & videri. Eſt enim hæc una virtus non ſolum maxima, ſed etiam mater virtutem omnium—quæ poteſt eſſe jucunditas vitæ ſublatis amicitiis? quæ porro amicitia poteſt eſſe inter ingratos? Pro Planc. 33. de Fin. 2. 22.

[*s*] Nam quod ita conſulieris pro amicis laborare, non jam ſic ſperant abs te, ſed etiam ſic imperant tibi familiares. Ep. fam. 6. 7.

enmities were mortal, his *friendſhips immortal* [*t*].

HIS manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character; ſplendid and noble: his houſe was open to all the learned Strangers and Philoſophers of *Greece* and *Aſia*: ſeveral of whom were conſtantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and ſpent their whole lives with him [*u*]. His levee was perpetually crouded with multitudes of all ranks; even Pompey himſelf not diſdaining to frequent it. The greateſt part came, not onely to pay their compliments, but to attend him on days of buſineſs to the Senate or the Forum; where upon any debate or tranſaction of moment, they conſtantly waited to conduct him home again: but on ordinary days, when theſe morning viſits were over, as they uſually were before ten, he retired to his books, and ſhut himſelf up in his library, without ſeeking any other diverſion, but what his children afforded to the ſhort intervals of his leiſure [*x*]. His ſupper was his greateſt meal; and

[*t*] Eſt enim ulciſcendi & puniendi modus. Atque haud ſcio, an ſatis ſit, eum, qui laceſſierit, injuriæ ſuæ pœnitere. [de off. 1. xi.] nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno viro dignius, placabilitate & clementia. [ibid. 25.]

Cum parcere vel lædere potuiſſem, ignoſcendi quærebam cauſas, non puniendi occaſiones. — Fragment. Cic. ex Marcellino.—

Neque vero me pœnitet mortales, inimicitias ſempiternas amicitias habere. Pro C. Rabir. Poſt 12.

[*u*] Doctiſſimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus ſemper domus noſtra floruit, & Principes illi, Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, Poſidonius, a quibus inſtituti ſumus. De Nat. Deor. 1. 3.

Eram cum Diodoto Stoico; qui cum habitaviſſet apud me, mecumque vixiſſet, nuper eſt domi meæ mortuus. Brut. 433.

[*x*] Cum bene completa demus eſt tempore matutino, cum ad forum ſtipati gregibus, amicorum deſcendimus —ad Att. 1. 18.

Mane

and the usual season with all the great, of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night: yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light: and never used *to sleep again at noon*, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly practised in *Rome* to this day [*y*].

But though he was so temperate and studious, yet when he was engaged to sup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid aside his rules, and forgot the invalid; and was gay and sprightly, and the very soul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of social life, he thought it inhospitable, not to contribute his share to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churlish reservedness. But he was really a lover of chearful entertainments; being of a nature remarkably facetious, and singularly turned to raillery [*z*]: a talent, which was of great service to him at the bar, to correct the petulance of an adversary; *relieve the satiety of a tedious cause*; *divert the minds of the Judges*; and mitigate the rigor

Mane salutamus domi bonos viros multos—ubi salutatio defluxit litteris me in volvo—Ep. fam. 9. 20. Cum salutationi nos dedimus amicorum—abdo me in Bibliothecam. Ep. fam. 7. 28.

Post horam quartam molesti cæteri non sunt. Ad Att. 2. 14.

[*y*] Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operæ, & lucubrationes detraxi & meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam. De Div. 2. 58.

[*z*] Ego autem, existimes quod lubet, mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus —[Ep. fam. 9. 15.] Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitæ atque victus, remissionemque animorum, quæ maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus — [ib. 24.] convivio delector. Ibi loquor quod in solum, ut dicitur, & gemitum etiam in risus maximos transfero [ib. 26.]

of a ſentence, by making both the Bench and Audience merry at the expence of the Accuſer [*a*].

THIS uſe of it was always thought fair, and greatly applauded in public trials; but in private converſations, he was charged ſometimes with puſhing his raillery too far; and, through a conſciouſneſs of his ſuperior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his laſhes inflicted [*b*]. Yet of all his ſarcaſtical jokes, which are tranſmitted to us by Antiquity, we ſhall not obſerve any, but what were pointed againſt characters, either ridiculous or profligate; ſuch as he deſpiſed for their follies, or hated for their vices; and tho' he might provoke the ſpleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was conſiſtent with a regard to his own eaſe, yet he never appears to have hurt or loſt a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jeſting.

IT is certain, that the fame of his wit was as celebrated as that of his eloquence; and that ſeveral ſpurious collections of his ſayings were handed about in *Rome* in his life-time [*c*]; till his friend Trebonius, after he had been Conſul, thought it worth while to publiſh an authentic edition of them, in *a volume which he addreſſed to*

[*a*]—Suavis eſt & vehementer ſæpe utilis jocus & facetiæ — multum in cauſis perſæpe lepore & facetiis profici vidi. De Or. 2. 54.

Quæ riſum judicis movendo & illos triſtes ſolvit affectus, & animum ab intentione rerum frequenter avertit, & aliquando etiam reficit, & a ſatietate vel a fatigatione renovat —— Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

[*b*] Noſter vero non ſolum extra judicia, ſed in ipſis etiam orationibus habitus eſt nimius riſus affectator— ibid. vid. Plutar.

[*c*] Ais enim, ut ego diſceſſerim, omnia omnium dicta—in me conferri—Ep. fam. 7. 32. it. 9. 16.

to Cicero himſelf [*d*]. Cæſar likewiſe, in the height of his power, having taken a fancy to collect the *Apophthegms* or memorable ſayings of eminent men, gave ſtrict orders to all his friends, who uſed to frequent Cicero, *to bring him every thing of that ſort, which happened to drop from him in their company* [*e*]. But Tiro, Cicero's freedman, who ſerved him chiefly in his ſtudies and literary affairs, publiſhed after his death, the moſt perfect collection *of his ſayings in three books:* where Quintilian however wiſhes, *that he had been more ſparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them* [*f*]. None of theſe books are now remaining, nor any other ſpecimen of the jeſts, but what are incidentally ſcattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings; which, as the ſame judicious Critic obſerves, through *the change of taſte* in different ages, and the want of *that action or geſture*, which gave the chief ſpirit to many of them, *could never be explained to advantage, though ſeveral had attempted it.* How much more cold then, and inſipid muſt they needs appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular characters and ſtories, to which they relate, as well

[*d*] Liber iſte, quem mihi miſiſti, quantum habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortaſſe non item: deinde, quod illa, ſive faceta ſunt, ſive ſic fiunt, narrante te, venuſtiſſima.—Ep. fam. 15. 21.

[*e*] Audio Cæſarem, cum volumina jam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, ſi quod afferatur pro meo, quod meum non ſit, rejicere ſolere—hæc ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur; ita enim ipſe mandavit. Ep. fam. 9. 16.

[*f*] Utinam libertus ejus Tiro, aut alius quiſquis fuit, qui tres hac de re libros edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulſiſſet—& plus judicii in eligendis, quam in congerendis ſtudii adhibuiſſet.—Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

as the peculiar faſhions, humor and taſt of wit in that age? Yet even in theſe, as Quintilian alſo tells us, as well as in his other compoſitions, people would ſooner find *what they might reject, than what they could add to them* [g].

HE had a great number of fine Houſes, in different parts of *Italy*; ſome writers reckon up *eighteen*; which, excepting the family-ſeat at *Arpinum*, ſeem to have been all purchaſed, or built by himſelf. They were ſituated generally near to the ſea, and placed at proper diſtances along the lower coaſt, between *Rome* and *Pompeii*, which was about four leagues beyond *Naples*; and for the elegance of ſtructure, and the delights of their ſituation, are called by him *the eyes*, or *the beauties of Italy* [h]. Thoſe in which he took the moſt pleaſure, and uſually ſpent ſome part of every year, were his *Tuſculum*, *Antium*, *Aſtura*, *Arpinum*; *his Formian*, *Cuman*, *Puteolan and Pompeian Villa's*; all of them large enough for the reception, not onely of his own family, but of his friends and numerous gueſts; many of whom of the firſt quality uſed to paſs ſeveral days with him in their excurſions from *Rome*. But beſides theſe, that may properly be reckoned ſeats, with large plantations and gardens around them, he had ſeveral *little Inns*, as he calls them, or baiting places on the road, built for his accommodation in paſſing from one Houſe to another [i].

HIS

[g] Qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni ejus ingenio, facilius quid rejici, quam quid adjici poſſit, invenient. ibid. vid. etiam Macrob. Sat. 2. 1.

[h] Quodque temporis in prædiolis noſtris, & belle ædificatis, & ſatis amænis conſumi potuit, in peregrinatione conſumimus—[ad. Att. 16. 3.] cur ocellos Italiæ, villulas meas non video? ib. 6.

[i] Ego accepi in Diverſoriola Sinueſſano, tuas litteras. Ad Att. 14. 8.

His *Tuſculan* Houſe had been Sylla's, *the Dictator*; and in one of its apartments had *a painting of his memorable victory near Nola, in the Marſic war*, in which Cicero had ſerved under him as a volunteer [*k*]: it was about four leagues from *Rome*, on the top of a beautiful Hill, covered with the Villa's of the nobility, and affording an agreeable proſpect of the City, and the country around it; with plenty of water flowing thro' his grounds in a large ſtream or canal, for which he paid a rent to the Corporation of *Tuſculum* [*l*]. Its neighbourhood to *Rome* gave him the opportunity of a retreat at any hour, from the fatigues of the bar, or the Senate, to breath a little freſh air, and divert himſelf with his friends or family; ſo that this was the place in which he took the moſt delight, and ſpent the greateſt ſhare of his leiſure; and for that reaſon improved and adorned it beyond all his other houſes [*m*].

When

[*k*] Idque etiam in Villa ſua Tuſculana, quæ poſtea fuit Ciceronis. Sylla pinxit. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. 22. 6.

[*l*] Ego Tuſculanis pro Aqua Crabra vectigal pendam, quia a Municipio fundum accepi—Con. Rull. 3. 2.

[*m*] Quæ mihi antea ſigna miliſti,—ea omnia in Tuſculanum deportabo—[Ad Att. 1. 4.] Nos ex omnibus laboribus & moleſtiis uno illo in loco conquieſcimus. [ib. 5.] Nos Tuſculano ita delectamur, ut nobiſmet ipſis tum denique, cum illo venimus, placeamus. ib. 6.

The ſituation of this *Tuſculan* Houſe, which had been built perhaps by Sylla, confirms what Seneca has obſerved of the *Villas* of all the other great Captains of *Rome*, Marius, Pompey, Cæſar; that they were placed always on hills, or the higheſt ground that they could find; it being thought more military, to command the view of the country beneath them, and that houſes ſo ſituated had the appearance of a camp, rather than a Villa—[Senec. Epiſt. 51.] But this delightful ſpot is now poſſeſſed by a Convent of Monks, called *Grotta Ferrata*, where they ſtill ſhew the remains of Cicero's columns and fine buildings, and the ducts of water that flowed through his gardens.

WHEN a greater ſatiety of the City, or a longer vacation in the Forum diſpoſed him to ſeek a calmer ſcene, and more undiſturbed retirement, he uſed to remove to *Antium* or *Aſtura*. At *Antium* he placed his beſt collection of books, and as it was not above thirty miles from *Rome*, he could have daily intelligence there of every thing that paſſed in the City. *Aſtura* was a *little Iſland*, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, about two leagues farther towards the South, between the promontories of *Antium* and *Circœum*, and in the view of them both; a place peculiarly adapted to the purpoſes of ſolitude, and a ſevere retreat; covered with a thick wood, cut out into ſhady walks, in which he uſed to ſpend the gloomy and ſplenetic moments of his life.

IN the height of Summer, the Manſion-houſe at *Arpinum*, and the little Iſland adjoining, by the advantage of its groves and caſcades, afforded the beſt defence againſt the inconvenience of the heats: where in the greateſt, that he had ever remembred, we find him refreſhing himſelf, as he writes to his Brother, with the utmoſt pleaſure, in the cool ſtream of his *Fibrenus* [*n*].

HIS other Villa's were ſituated in the more public parts of *Italy*, where all the beſt company of *Rome* had their Houſes of pleaſure. He had two at *Formiæ*, a lower and upper Villa; the one near to the port of *Cajeta*, the other upon the mountains adjoining: he had a third on the ſhore of *Baiæ*, between the *Lake Avernus*

[*n*] Ego ex magnis caloribus non enim meminimus majores, in Arpinati, ſumma cum amœnitate fluminis, me refeci ludorum diebus. Ad Quint. 3. 1.

nus and Puteoli, which he calls his *Puteolan*; a fourth on the hills of old *Cumæ*, called his *Cuman* Villa; and a fifth at *Pompeii*, four leagues beyond *Naples*; in a country famed for the purity of its air, fertility of its soil, and delicacy of its fruits. His *Puteolan* House was built after the plan of the *Academy of Athens*, and called by that name; being adorned with a *Portico and a grove*, for the same use of philosophical conferences. Some time after his death it fell into the hands of Antistius Vetus, who repaired and improved it; when a spring of warm water, which happened to burst out in one part of it, gave occasion to the following Epigram, made by Laurea Tullius, one of Cicero's freed men.

Quo tua Romanæ vindex clarissime linguæ
Sylva loco melius surgere jussa viret,
Atque Academiæ celebratam nomine villam
Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus,
Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,
Languida quæ infuso lumina rore levant.
Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori
Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.
Ut quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,
Sint plures, oculis quæ mediantur, aquæ [o].

Where

[o] Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. 2. This Villa was afterwards an Imperial Palace; possessed by the Emperor Hadrian, who died and was buried in it; where he is supposed to have breathed out that last and celebrated adieu to his *little pallid, frightened,*

[1] Animula vagula, blandula.
Hospes, Comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigidia, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.
Ælii Spartian. Vit. Hadr. 25.

fluttering Soul [1]; which would have left him with less regret, if, from Cicero's habitation on earth, it had known the way to those regions above, where Cicero probably still lives, in the fruition of endless happiness [2]

[2] Ubi

Where groves, once thine, now with freſh verdure bloom,
Great Parent of the Eloquence of Rome,
And where thy Academy, favorite ſeat,
Now to Antiſtius yields its ſweet retreat.
A guſhing ſtream burſts out, of wondrous power,
To heal the eyes, and weaken'd ſight reſtore.
The place, which all its pride from Cicero drew
Repays this honour to his memory due,
That ſince his works throughout the world are ſpread,
And with ſuch eagerneſs by all are read,
New ſprings of healing quality ſhould riſe,
To eaſe the increaſe of labor to the eyes.

THE furniture of his Houſes was ſuitable to the elegance of his taſte, and the magnificence of his buildings: his galleries were adorned with ſtatues and paintings of the beſt Grecian Maſters; and his veſſels and moveables were of the beſt work and choiceſt materials. There was *a Cedar Table* of his remaining in Pliny's time, ſaid to be *the firſt* which was ever ſeen in *Rome*, and to have coſt him *eighty pounds* [*p*]. He thought it the part of an eminent Citizen, to preſerve an uniformity of character in every article of his conduct, and to illuſtrate his dignity by the ſplendor of his life. This was the

[2] Ubi nunc agat anima Ciceronis, fortaſſe non eſt humani judicii pronunciare: me certe non admodum adverſum habituri ſint inferendis calculis, qui ſperant illum apud Superos quietam vitam agere—Eraſm. Præm. in Tuſ. Quæſt. ad Joh. Ulatten.

[*p*] Extat hodie M. Ciceronis, in illa paupertate, & quod magis mirum eſt, illo ævo empta H. S. X.—[Plin. Hiſt. N. 13. 15.] nullius ante Ciceronianam vetuſtior memoria eſt. ib. 16.

the reaſon of the great variety of his houſes, and of their ſituation in the moſt conſpicuous parts of *Italy*, along the courſe of the *Appian* road; that they might occur at every ſtage to the obſervation of travellers, and lie commodious for the reception and entertainment of his friends.

THE reader perhaps, when he reflects on what the old writers have ſaid of the mediocrity of his paternal eſtate, will be at a loſs to conceive whence all his revenues flowed, that enabled him to ſuſtain the vaſt expence of building and maintaining ſuch a number of noble houſes; but the ſolution will be eaſy, when we recollect the great opportunities that he had of improving his original fortunes. The two principal funds of wealth to the leading men of *Rome*, were; firſt, the public Magiſtracies, and Provincial Commands; ſecondly, the preſents of Kings, Princes, and foreign ſtates, whom they had obliged by their ſervices and protection: and tho' no man was more moderate in the uſe of theſe advantages than Cicero, yet to one of his prudence, œconomy, and contempt of vicious pleaſures, theſe were abundantly ſufficient to anſwer all his expences [*q*]: for in his Province of *Cilicia*, after all the memorable inſtances of his generoſity, by which he ſaved to the public a full million ſterling, which all other Governors had applied to their private uſe, yet at the expiration of his year, he left in the hands of *the Publicans in Aſia near twenty thouſand pounds*, reſerved from the ſtrict dues of his Government, and remitted to him afterwards at *Rome*.

[*q*] Parva ſunt, quæ deſunt noſtris quidem moribus, & ea ſunt ad explicandum expeditiſſima, modo valeamus. Ad Quint. 2. 15.

Rome [*r*]. But there was another way of acquiring money, esteemed the most reputable of any which brought large and frequent supplies to him, *the legacies of deceased friends*. It was the peculiar custom of *Rome*, for the Clients and dependents of families to bequeath at their death to their Patrons some considerable part of their estates, as the most effectual testimony of their respect and gratitude; and the more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to his credit. Thus Cicero mentions it to the honor of Lucullus, that while he governed *Asia* as Proconsul, *many great estates were left to him by will* [*s*]: and Nepos tells us, in praise of Atticus, *that he succeeded to many inheritances* of the same kind, bequeathed to him on no other account, than on his friendly and amiable temper [*t*]. Cicero had his full share of these testamentary donations; as we see from the many instances of them mentioned in his Letters [*u*]; and when he was falsely reproached by Antony, with being neglected on these occasions, he declared in his reply, that he had gained from this single article *about two hundred thousand pounds, by the free and voluntary gifts of dying friends; not the forged wills of persons unknown to him*; with which he charged Antony [*x*].

His

[*r*] Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad H. S. bis & vicies, hujus pecuniæ permutatione fidem nostram facile tuebere. Ad Att. xi. 1.

[*s*] Maximas audio tibi, L. Luculle, pro tua eximia liberalitate, maximisque beneficiis in tuos, venisse hereditates. pr. Flacc. 34.

[*t*] Multas enim hereditates nulla alia re, quam benitate est consecutus. Vit. Attic. 21.

[*u*] Ad Att. 2. 20. xi. 2. pr. Mil. 18.

[*x*] Hereditates mihi negasti venire—ego enim amplius H. S. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus retuli — me

His moral character was never blemiſhed by the ſtain of any habitual vice; but was a ſhining pattern of virtue to an age, of all others the moſt licentious and profligate [*y*]. His mind was ſuperior to all the ſordid paſſions which engroſs little ſouls; avarice, envy, malice, luſt. If we ſift his familiar letters, we cannot diſcover in them the leaſt hint of any thing baſe, immodeſt, ſpiteful, or perfidious; but an uniform principle of benevolence, juſtice, love of his friends and country, flowing through the whole, and inſpiring all his thoughts and actions. Tho' no man ever felt the effects of other peoples envy more ſeverely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it: this is allowed to him by all the old writers, and is evident indeed from his works; where we find him perpetually praiſing and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adverſary; celebrating merit where-ever it was found; whether in the ancients or his contemporaries; whether in *Greeks* or *Romans*; and verifying a maxim which he had declared in a ſpeech to the Senate, *that no man could be envious of another's virtue, who was conſcious of his own* [*z*].

His ſprightly wit would naturally have recommended him to the favor of the Ladies; whoſe company he uſed to frequent when young, and with many of whom of the firſt quality, he was oft engaged in his riper years to confer about the intereſts of their huſbands, brothers,

or

me nemo, niſi amicus, fecit heredem—te is, quem tu vidiſti nunquam—Phil. 2. 16.

[*y*] Cum vita fuerit integra, nec integra ſolum ſed etiam caſta. Eraſm. Epiſt. ad Jo. Ulatten.

[*z*] Declaraſti verum eſſe id, quod ego ſemper ſenſi, *neminem alterius, qui ſuæ confideret, virtuti invidere.* Phil. x. 1. vid. Plutar.

or relations, who were abſent from *Rome:* yet we meet with no trace of any criminal gallantry, or intrigue with any of them. In a letter to Pætus, towards the end of his life, he gives a jocoſe account of his ſupping with their friend Volumnius, an Epicurean wit of the firſt claſs, when the famed Courteſan, Cytheris, who had been Volumnius's ſlave, and was then his miſtreſs made one of the company at table: where after ſeveral jokes on that incident, he ſays, *that he never ſuſpected that ſhe would have been of the party; and tho' he was always a lover of chearful entertainments, yet nothing of that ſort had ever pleaſed him when young, much leſs now, when he was old* [*a*]. There was one Lady however, called Cærellia, with whom he kept up a particular familiarity and correſpondence of letters; on which Dio, as it has been already hinted, abſurdly grounds ſome little ſcandal, though he owns her to have been *ſeventy years old.* She is frequently mentioned in Cicero's Letters, as a lover of books and philoſophy; and on that account, as fond of his company and writings: but while out of complaiſance to her ſex, and a regard to her uncommon talents, he treated her always with reſpect; yet by the hints which he drops of her to Atticus, it appears that ſhe had no ſhare of his affections, or any real authority with him [*b*].

His

[*a*] Me vero nihil iſtorum ne juvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc ſenem. Ep. fam. 9. 26.

[*b*] Mirifice Cærellia, ſtudio videlicet philoſophiæ flagrans, deſcribit a tuis: iſtos ipſos de finibus habet— [ad Att. 13. 21.] Cærelliæ facile ſatisfeci; nec valde laborare viſa eſt: & ſi illa, ego certe non laborarem— ib. 15. 1. it. 12. 51. 14. 19. Fam. 13. 72. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 303.

His failings were as few as were ever found in any eminent genius; such as flowed from his conſtitution, not his will; and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity, than to the fault of the man. He was thought to *be too ſanguine in proſperity, too deſponding in adverſity:* and apt to perſuade himſelf in each fortune, *that it would never have an end* [*c*]. This is Pollio's account of him: which ſeems in general to be true: Brutus touches the firſt part of it in one of his letters to him; and when things were going proſperouſly againſt Antony, put him gently in mind, *that he ſeemed to truſt too much to his hopes* [*d*]: and he himſelf allows the ſecond, and ſays, that *if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events, apprehending always the worſt, rather than hoping the beſt, he was the man; and if that was a fault,* confeſſes himſelf *not to be free from it* [*e*]: yet in explaining afterwards the nature of this timidity, it was ſuch, he tells us, as ſhewed itſelf rather *in foreſeeing dangers, than in encountering them:* an explication, which the latter part of his life fully confirmed, and above all his death, which no man could ſuſtain with greater courage and reſolution [*f*]. But

[*c*] Utinam moderatius ſecundus res, & fortius adverſas ferre potuiſſet! namque utræque cum venerant ei, mutari eas non poſſe rebatur. Aſin. Poll. apud Sen. Suaſor. 6.

[*d*] Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortiſſime, mihique merito & meo nomine & Reipub. cariſſime, minis credere videris ſpei tuæ—Brut. ad Cic. 4.

[*e*] Nam ſi quiſquam eſt timidus in magnis periculoſiſque rebus, ſemperque magis adverſos rerum exitus metuens, quam ſperans ſecundos, is ego ſum: & ſi hoc vitium eſt, eo me non carere confiteor. Ep. fam. 6. 14.

[*f*] Parum fortis videbatur quibuſdam: quibus optime reſpondit ipſe, non ſe timidum in ſuſcipiendis, ſed in pro-

BUT the moſt conſpicuous and glaring paſſion of his ſoul was, the *love of glory and thirſt of praiſe:* a paſſion, that he not onely avowed, but freely indulged; and ſometimes, as he himſelf confeſſes, *to a degree even of vanity* [*g*]. This often gave his enemies a plauſible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance [*h*]; while the forwardneſs that he ſhewed to celebrate his own merits in all his public ſpeeches, ſeemed to juſtify their cenſures: and ſince this is generally conſidered as the grand foible of his life, and has been handed down implicitly from age to age, without ever being fairly examined, or rightly underſtood, it will be proper to lay open the ſource from which the paſſion itſelf flowed, and explane the nature of that *glory*, of which he profeſſes himſelf ſo fond.

TRUE glory then, according to his own definition of it, is *a wide and illuſtrious fame of many and great benefits conferred upon our friends, our country, or the whole race of mankind* [*i*]: it is not, he ſays, *the empty blaſt of popular favor, or the applauſe of a giddy multitude*, which all wiſe men had ever deſpiſed, and none more than himſelf; but *the conſenting praiſe of all honeſt men, and the incorrupt teſtimony of thoſe who can*

providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipſa, quam præſtantiſſimo ſuſcepit animo. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

[*g*] Nunc quoniam laudis aviditſimi ſemper fuimus. [Ad At. 1. 15.] Quin etiam quod eſt ſubinane in nobis, & non ἀφιλόδοξον, bellum eſt enim, ſua vitia noſſe [ib. 2. 17.] Sum etiam avidior etiam, quam ſatis eſt, gloriæ. Ep. fam. 9. 14.

[*h*] Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quod ſolere me dicas de me ipſo glorioſus prædicare——Pro Dom. 35.

[*i*] Si quidem gloria eſt illuſtris ac pervagata multorum & magnorum vel in ſuos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum—Pro Marcel. 8.

can judge of excellent merit, which reſounds always to virtue, as the eccho to the voice; and ſince it is a general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men. That thoſe who aſpired to this glory, were not to expect *eaſe or pleaſure, or tranquility of life for their pains*; *but muſt give up their own peace to ſecure the peace of others*; *muſt expoſe themſelves to ſtorms and dangers for the public good*; *ſuſtain many battles with the audacious and the wicked, and ſome even with the powerful*: in ſhort, muſt behave themſelves ſo, *as to give their citizens cauſe to rejoice that they had ever been born* [*k*]. This is the notion that he inculcates every where of *true glory*: which is ſurely one of the nobleſt principles that can inſpire a human breaſt; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the ſtrongeſt in the beſt and moſt elevated minds; and to which we owe every thing great and laudable, that Hiſtory has to offer to us, thro'

[*k*] Si quiſquam fuit unquam remotus & natura, & magis etiam, ut mihi quidem ſentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude & ſermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is ſum.—Ep. fam. 15. 4.

Eſt enim gloria—conſentiens laus bonorum; incorrupta vox bene judicantium de excellente virtute: ea virtuti reſonat tanquam imago: quæ quia recte factorum plerumque comes eſt, non eſt bonis viris repudianda. Tuſc. quæſt. 3. 2.

Qui autem bonam, famam bonorum, quæ ſola vera gloria nominari poteſt, expetunt, aliis otium quærere debent & voluptates, non ſibi. Sudandum eſt his pro communibus commodis, adeundæ inimicitiæ, ſubeundæ ſæpe pro Repub. tempeſtates. Cum multis audacibus, improbis, nonnunquam etiam potentibus, dimicandum. Pro Sext. 66.

Carum eſſe civem, bene de Repub. mereri, laudari, coli, diligi, glorioſum eſt—quare ita guberna Rempub. ut natum eſſe te cives tui gaudeant: ſine quo nec beatus, nec clarus quiſquam eſſe poteſt. Phil. 1. 14.

all the ages of the heathen world. There is not an inſtance, ſays Cicero, of a man's exerting himſelf ever *with praiſe and virtue in the dangers of his country, who was not drawn to it by the hopes of glory, and a regard to poſterity* [*l*]. *Give me a boy*, ſays Quintilian, whom *praiſe excites, whom glory warms:* for ſuch a ſcholar was ſure to anſwer all his hopes, and do credit to his diſcipline [*m*]. *Whether poſterity will have any reſpect for me*, ſays Pliny, *I know not; but am ſure that I have deſerved ſome from it: I will not ſay by my wit, for that would be arrogant; but by the zeal, by the pains, by the reverence, which I have always paid to it* [*n*].

IT will not ſeem ſtrange, to obſerve the wiſeſt of the ancients puſhing this principle to ſo great a length, and conſidering glory as the ampleſt reward of a well-ſpent life [*o*]; when we reflect, that the greateſt part of them had no notion of any other reward or futurity; and even thoſe who believed a ſtate of happineſs to the good, yet entertained it with ſo much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wiſh, than a well-grounded hope; and were glad therefore to lay hold on that which ſeemed to be within

[*l*] Neque quiſquam noſtrum in Reipub. periculis, cum laude ac virtute verſatur, quin ſpe poſteritatis, fructuque ducatur. Pro C. Rabir. x.

[*m*] Mihi detur ille puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet. Hic erit alendus ambitu — in hoc deſidiam nunquam verebor. Quintil. 1. 3.

[*n*] —Poſteris an aliqua cura noſtri, neſcio. Nos certe meremur, ut ſit aliqua: non dico, ingenio; id enim ſuperbum; ſed ſtudio, ſed labore, ſed reverentia poſterum. Plin. Ep.

[*o*] Sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, ſi eſſet habenda ratio præmiorum, ampliſſimum eſſe præmium gloriam. Eſſe hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ poſteritatis memoria conſolaretur. —Pro Mil. 35.

in their reach, a futurity of their own creating; an immortality of fame and glory from the applauſe of poſterity. This, by a pleaſing fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of exiſtence; and had no ſmall comfort in imagining, that tho' the ſenſe of it ſhould not reach to themſelves, it would extend at leaſt to others; and that they ſhould be doing good ſtill when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus Cicero, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but conſidered his acts, as ſeeds ſown in the immenſe field of the univerſe, to raiſe up the fruit of glory and immortality to him thro' a ſucceſſion of infinite ages: nor has he been fruſtrated of his hope, or diſappointed of his end; but as long as the name of *Rome* ſubſiſts, or as long as learning, virtue and liberty preſerve any credit in the world, he will be great and glorious in the memory of all poſterity.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from *his boaſting ſo frequently of himſelf* in his ſpeeches both to the Senate and the people, tho' it may appear to a common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings; yet if we attend to the circumſtances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we ſhall find it not onely excuſable, but in ſome degree even neceſſary. The fate of *Rome* was now brought to a criſis; and the contending parties were making their laſt efforts, either to oppreſs or preſerve it: Cicero was the head of thoſe who ſtood up for its liberty; which entirely depended on the influence of his counſils: he had many years therefore been the common mark of the rage and malice of all who were

aiming at illegal powers, or a tyranny in the ſtate; and while theſe were generally ſupported by the military power of the Empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the Senate and People, grounded on the experience of his ſervices, and the perſuaſion of his integrity: ſo that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merit and good effects of his counſils; in order to confirm people in their union and adherence to them, againſt the intrigues of thoſe, who were employing all arts to ſubvert them. *The frequent commemoration of his acts*, ſays Quintilian, *was not made ſo much for glory, as for defence; to repel calumny, and vindicate his meaſures when they were attacked* [p]: and this is what Cicero himſelf declared in all his ſpeeches; "that no man ever heard "him ſpeak of himſelf but when he was forced "to it: that when he was urged with fictitious "crimes, it was his cuſtom to anſwer them "with his real ſervices: and if ever he ſaid any "thing glorious of himſelf, it was not thro' a "fondneſs of praiſe, but to repel an accuſation "[q]: that no man who had been converſant "in great affairs, and treated with particular "envy,

[p] Vigeſimus annus eſt, cum omnes ſcelerati me unam petunt. Phil. 12. x. 6. 6.

At plerumque illud quoque non ſine aliqua ratione fecit.—Ut illorum, quæ egerat in Conſulatu frequens commemoratio, poſſit videri non gloriæ magis quam defenſioni data — plerumque contra inimicos atque obtrectatores plus vendicat ſibi; erant enim tuenda, cum objicerentur. Quintil. xi. 1.

[q] Quis unquam audivit, cum ego de me niſi coactus ac neceſſario dicerem?—dicendum igitur eſt id, quod non dicerem niſi coactus: nihil enim unquam de me dixi ſublatius aſciſcendæ laudis cauſa potius, quam criminis depellendi—pro Dom. 35, 36.

" envy, could refute the contumely of an ene-
" my, without touching upon his own praiſes;
" and after all his labors for the common ſafe-
" ty, if a juſt indignation had drawn from him
" at any time what might ſeem to be vain-
" glorious, it might reaſonably be forgiven to
" him [*r*]: that when others were ſilent about
" him, if he could not then forbear to ſpeak of
" himſelf, that indeed would be ſhameful; but
" when he was injured, accuſed, expoſed to
" popular odium, he muſt certainly be allowed
" to aſſert his liberty, if they would not ſuffer
" him to retain his dignity [*s*]." This then was the true ſtate of the caſe, as it is evident from the facts of his hiſtory: he had an ardent love of glory, and an eager thirſt of praiſe: was pleaſed, when living, to hear his acts applauded; yet more ſtill with imagining, that they would ever be celebrated when he was dead: a paſſion, which for the reaſons already hinted, had always the greateſt force on the greateſt ſouls: but it muſt needs raiſe our contempt and indignation, to ſee every conceited pedant, and trifling declamer, who know little of Cicero's real character, and leſs ſtill of their own, preſuming to call him *the vaineſt of mortals*.

[*r*] Poteſt quiſquam vir in rebus magnis cum invidia verſatus, ſatis graviter contra inimici contumeliam, ſine ſua laude reſpondere?—

Quanquam ſi me tantis laboribus pro communi ſalute perfunctum efferret aliquando ad gloriam in refutandis maledictis improborum hominum animi quidam dolor, quis non ignoſceret? — de Haruſ. reſp. 8.

[*s*] Si, cum cæteri de nobis ſilent, non etiam noſmet ipſi tacemus, grave. Sed ſi lædimur, ſi accuſamur, ſi in invidiam vocamur, profecto concedetis, ut nobis libertatem retinere liceat, ſi minus liceat dignitatem. Pro Syll. 29.

BUT there is no point of light, in which we can view him with more advantage or ſatisfaction to ourſelves, than in the contemplation of his learning, and the ſurprizing extent of his knowledge. This ſhines ſo conſpicuous in all the monuments which remain of him, that it even leſſens the dignity of his general character; while the idea of the ſcholar abſorbs that of the Senator; and by conſidering him as the greateſt writer, we are apt to forget, that he was the greateſt Magiſtrate alſo of *Rome*. We learn our *Latin* from him at ſchool; our ſtile and ſentiments at the College: here the generality take their leave of him, and ſeldom think of him more, but as of an Orator, a Moraliſt, or Philoſopher of Antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a ſingle part, without ſurveying the whole; ſince the perfection of each depends on its proportion and relation to the reſt; while in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning, conſider'd ſeparately, will appear admirable; yet much more ſo, when it is found in the poſſeſſion of the firſt Stateſman of a mighty Empire: his abilities as a Stateſman are glorious; yet ſurprize us ſtill more, when they are obſerved in the ableſt Scholar and Philoſopher of his age: but an union of both theſe characters exhibits that ſublime ſpecimen of perfection, to which the beſt parts with the beſt culture can exalt human nature [*t*].

No

[*t*] Cum ad naturam eximiam atque illuſtrem acceſſerit ratio quædam, conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud neſcio quod præclarum ac ſingulare ſolere exſiſtere. Pro Arch. 7.

No man, whoſe life had been wholly ſpent in ſtudy, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of ſcience, and the politer arts; in *Oratory*, *Poetry*, *Philoſophy*, *Law*, *Hiſtory*, *Criticiſm*, *Politics*, *Ethics*; in each of which he equalled the greateſt maſters of his time; in ſome of them excelled all men of all times [*u*]. His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a ſmall part of what he really publiſhed; and tho' many of theſe are come down to us maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet they are juſtly eſteemed the moſt precious remains of all antiquity; and like *the Sibylline books*, if more of them had periſhed, would have been equal ſtill to any price.

His induſtry was incredible, beyond the example, or even conception of our days: this was the ſecret by which he performed ſuch wonders, and reconciled perpetual ſtudy with perpetual affairs. He ſuffered no part of his leiſure to be idle, or the leaſt interval of it to be loſt; but what other people gave to *the public ſhews*, *to pleaſures*, *to feaſts*, nay, even *to ſleep*, and *the ordinary refreſhments of nature*, he generally gave to *his books*, and the enlargement of his knowledge [*x*]. On days of buſineſs, when he had any thing particular to compoſe, he had no other

[*u*] M. Cicero in libro, qui inſcriptus eſt de Jure civili in artem redigendo, verba hæc poſuit—[A. Gell. 1. 22.] M. Tullius non modo inter agendum nunquam eſt deſtitutus ſcientia juris, ſed etiam componere aliqua de eo cœperat. [Quintil. 12. 3.] At M. Tullium, non illum habemus Euphranorem, circa plurium artium ſpecies præſtantem, ſed in omnibus, quæ in quoque laudantur, eminentiſſimum. lb. c. x.

[*x*] Quantum cæteris ad ſuas res obeundas, quantum ad feſtos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, & ipſam requiem animi & corporis conceditur temporum: quantum alii tribuunt

other time for meditating, but when he was taking *a few turns in his walks*, where he uſed to dictate his thoughts *to his Scribes*, who attended him [*y*]. We find many of his letters dated before *day-light*; ſome from *the Senate*; others from *his meals*, and the croud of *his morning levee* [*z*].

No compoſitions afford more pleaſure than *the Epiſtles* of great men: they touch the heart of the reader, by laying open that of the writer. The Letters of eminent wits, eminent ſcholars, eminent ſtateſmen, are all eſteemed in their ſeveral kinds; but there never was a collection that excell'd ſo much in every kind as Cicero's, for the purity of ſtile, the importance of the matter, or the dignity of the perſons concern'd in them. We have about *a thouſand* ſtill remaining, all written after he was *forty* years old; which are but a ſmall part, not onely of what he wrote, but of what were actually publiſhed after his death by his ſervant Tiro. For we ſee many volumes of them quoted by the Ancients, which are

buunt tempeſtivis conviviis: quantum denique aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi ego-met ad hæc ſtudia recolenda ſumſero—pro Arch. 6.

Cui fuerit ne otium quidem unquam otioſum. Nam quas tu commemoras legere te ſolere orationes, cum otioſus ſis, has ego ſcripſi ludis & feriis, ne omnino unquam eſſem otioſus. Pro Planc. 27.

[*y*] Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis fere tempus confero. [Ad Quint. 3. 4.] Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem, & cum recreandæ voculæ cauſa mihi neceſſe eſſet ambulare, hæc dictavi ambulans. Ad Att. 2. 23.

[*z*] Cum hæc ſcribebam ante lucem. [Ad Quint. 3. 2. 7.] Ante lucem cum ſcriberem contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo & opera exaravi neſcio quid ad te, & ante lucem dedi. Deinde cum, ſomno repetito, ſimul cum ſole experrectus eſſem.—Ad Att. 13. 38. Hæc ad te ſcripſi appoſita ſecunda menſa. [ib. 14. 6. 21. 15. 13.] Hoc paullulum exaravi ipſa in turba matutinæ ſalutationis. Ad Brut. l. 2. 4.

are utterly loſt; as *the firſt book* of his Letters to Licinius Calvus; *the firſt* alſo to Q. Axius; *a ſecond book* to his ſon, *a ſecond* alſo to Corn. Nepos; *a third book* to J. Cæſar, *a third* to Octavius; and *a third alſo* to Panſa; *an eighth book* to M. Brutus; and *a ninth* to A. Hirtius. Of all which, excepting a few to J. Cæſar and Brutus, we have nothing more left than ſome ſcattered phraſes and ſentences, gathered from the citations of the old Critics and Grammarians [*a*]. What makes theſe Letters ſtill more eſtimable is, that he had never deſigned them for the public, nor kept any copies of them; for the year before his death, when Atticus was making ſome inquiry about them, he ſent him word, *that he had made no collection*; *and that Tiro had preſerved only about ſeventy* [*b*]. Here then we may expect to ſee the genuin man, without diſguiſe or affectation; eſpecially in his letters to Atticus, to whom he talked with the ſame frankneſs as to himſelf; opened the riſe and progreſs of each thought; and never enter'd into any affair without his particular advice: ſo that theſe may be conſidered *as the memoirs of his times*; containing the moſt authentic materials for the Hiſtory of that age, and laying open the grounds and motives of all the great events that happened in it [*c*]: and it is the want of attention to them, that makes the generality of writers on theſe times ſo ſuperficial, as well as erroneous; while they chuſe to tranſcribe

[*a*] See the fragments of his Letters in the Editions of his works.

[*b*] Mearum Epiſtolarum nulla eſt συναγωγή. Sed habet Tiro inſtar ſeptuaginta. Ad At. 16. 5.

[*c*] Quæ qui legat non multum deſideret hiſtoriam contextam eorum temporum; ſic enim omnia de ſtudiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reipub. perſcripta ſunt, ut nihil in his non apparet. Corn. Nep. vit. At. 16.

ſcribe the dry and imperfect relations of the later *Greek Hiſtorians*, rather than take the pains to extract the original account of facts from one who was a principal actor in them.

IN his familiar Letters he affected no particular elegance or choice of words, but took the firſt that occurred from *common uſe and the language of converſation* [*d*]. Whenever he was diſpoſed to joke, his wit was eaſy and natural; flowing always from the ſubject, and throwing out *what came uppermoſt*; nor diſdaining even a pun, when it ſerved to make his friends laugh [*e*]. In Letters of compliment, ſome of which were addreſſed to the greateſt men who ever lived, his inclination to pleaſe is expreſſed in a manner agreeable to nature and reaſon, with the utmoſt delicacy both of ſentiment and diction, yet without any of thoſe pompous titles and lofty epithets, which modern cuſtom has introduced into our commerce with the great, and falſely ſtamped with the name of politeneſs; though they are the real offſpring of barbariſm, and the effect of our degeneracy both in taſte and manners. In his political Letters, all his maxims are drawn from an intimate knowledge of men and things: he always touches the point on which the affair turns; foreſees the danger, and fortels the miſchief; which never failed to follow upon the neglect of his counſils: of which there were ſo many inſtances, that as an eminent writer of his own time obſerved of him, *his prudence ſeemed to be a kind of divination, which foretold every thing*

[*d*] Epiſtolas vero quotidianis verbis texere ſolemus. Ep. fam. 9. 21.

[*e*] Quicquid in buccam venerit. Ad Att. 7. x. 14. 7. In reproaching Antony for publiſhing one of his Letters to him, *How many jeſts*, ſays he, *are often found in private Letters, which, if made public, might be thought fooliſh and impertinent?* Phil. 2. 4.

thing that afterwards happened, with the veracity of a Prophet [*f*]. But none of his letters do him more credit than thoſe of the *recommendatory* kind: the other ſhew his wit and his parts, theſe his benevolence and his probity: he ſollicits the intereſt of his friends with all the warmth and force of words, of which he was maſter: and alledges generally ſome perſonal reaſon for his peculiar zeal in the cauſe, and that his own honor was concerned in the ſucceſs of it [*g*].

BUT

[*f*] Ut facile exiſtimari poſſit prudentiam quodammodo eſſe divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea ſolum, quæ vivo ſe acciderunt, futura prædixit, ſed etiam, quæ nunc uſu veniunt, cecinit, ut Vates. Corn. Nep. 16.

[*g*] An objection may poſſibly be made to my character of theſe letters, from a certain paſſage in one of them, addreſſed to a *Proconſul of Afric*, wherein he intimates, that there was *a private mark* agreed upon between them, which, when affixed to his Letters would ſignify, what real ſtreſs he himſelf laid upon them, and what degree of influence he deſired them to have with his friend. [Ep. fam. 13. 6.] But that ſeems to relate onely to the particular caſe of one man, who having great affairs in *Afric*, was likely to be particularly troubleſome both to Cicero *and the Proconſul*; whoſe general concerns however he recommends in that Letter with the utmoſt warmth and affection. But if he had uſed the ſame method with all the other Proconſuls and foreign Commanders, it ſeems not onely reaſonable, but neceſſary, that a man of his character and authority, whoſe favor was perpetually ſollicited by perſons of all ranks, ſhould make ſome diſtinction between his real friends, whom he recommended for their own ſake, and thoſe, whoſe recommendations were extorted from him by the importunity of others: which was frequently the caſe, as he himſelf declares in theſe very Letters. *Your regard for me*, ſays he, *is ſo publicly known, that I am importuned by many for recommendations to you. But though I give them ſometimes to men of no conſequence, yet for the moſt part, it is to my real friends.* Again, *Our friendſhip and your affection to me is ſo illuſtrious, that I am under a neceſſity of recommending many people to you: but though it is my duty to wiſh well to all, whom I recommend*;

BUT his Letters are not more valuable on any account, than for their being the onely monuments of that ſort, which remain to us from *free Rome*. They breathe the laſt words of expiring liberty; a great part of them having been written in the very criſis of its ruin, to rouſe up all the virtue, that was left in the honeſt and the brave, to the defence of their country. The advantage, which they derive from this circumſtance, will eaſily be obſerved by comparing them with the Epiſtles of the beſt and greateſt, who floriſhed afterwards in *Imperial Rome*. Pliny's Letters are juſtly admired by men of taſt: they ſhew the ſcholar, the wit, the fine gentleman: yet we cannot but obſerve a poverty and barrenneſs through the whole, that betrays the awe of a maſter. All his ſtories and reflections terminate in private life; there is nothing important in politics; no great affairs explaned; no account of the motives of public counſils: he had born all the ſame offices with Cicero, whom in all points he affected to emulate [*b*]; yet his honors were in effect but nominal; conferred by a ſuperior power, and adminiſtred by a ſuperior will; and with the old titles of Conſul and Proconſul, we want ſtill the Stateſman, the Politician and the Magiſtrate. In his Provincial command, where Cicero governed all things with ſupreme authority, and had Kings attendant on his orders; Pliny durſt not venture *to repair a Bath*; *or puniſh a fugitive ſlave*; *or incorporate a company of Maſons*; till he had firſt con-

commend; *yet I do not live upon the ſame foot of friendſhip with them all*, &c. Ep. fam. 13. 70, 71.

[*b*] Lætarius, quod honoribus ejus inſiſtam, quem æmulari in ſtudiis cupio. Plin. Ep. 4. 8.

conſulted and obtained the leave of Trajan [*i*].

His Hiſtorical works are all loſt: *the Commentaries of his Conſulſhip in Greek*; *the Hiſtory of his own affairs*, to his return from exil, *in Latin verſe*; *and his Anecdotes*; as well as the pieces, that he publiſhed on *Natural Hiſtory*; of which Pliny quotes one, upon *the wonders of Nature*, and another *on perfumes* [*k*]. He was meditating likewiſe a general *Hiſtory of Rome*, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the onely man capable of adding that glory alſo to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a ſpecies of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the leaſt cultivated by the *Romans* [*l*]. But he never found leiſure to execute ſo great a taſk; yet has ſketched out a plan of it, which, ſhort as it is, ſeems to be the beſt, that can be formed, for the deſign of a perfect Hiſtory.

"He declares it to be the firſt and fundamen-
"tal law of Hiſtory, that it ſhould neither dare
"to ſay any thing that was falſe, or fear to ſay
"any

[*i*] Pruſenſes, Domine, balneum habent & ſordidum & vetus, id itaque indulgentia tua reſtituere deſiderant. Ep. l. x. 34.

Quorum ego ſupplicium diſtuli, ut te conditorem diſciplinæ militaris, firmatoremque, conſulerem de modo pœnæ. Ib. 38.

Tu, domine, deſpice an inſtituendum putes collegium Fabrorum, Duntaxat hominum CL. ib. 42.

[*k*] Cicero in Admirandis poſuit, &c. Plin. Hiſt. N. 31. 2. Quod admirandis ſuis inſeruit. M. Cicero. ibid. c. 4. In monumentis M. Ciceronis invenitur; Unguenta gratiora eſſe, quæ terram, quam quæ crocum ſapiant. Hiſt. N. 13. 3. 17. 5.

[*l*] Poſtulator a te jamdiu, vel flagitatur potius Hiſtoria: ſic enim putant, te illam tractante, effici poſſe, ut in hoc etiam genere Græciæ nihil cedamus—ab eſt enim hiſtoria litteris noſtris — de Leg. 1, 2, 3.

" any thing that was true; nor give any juſt " ſuſpicion either of favor or diſaffection: that " in the relation of things, the writer ſhould " obſerve the order of time, and add alſo " the deſcription of places: that in all great " and memorable tranſactions, he ſhould firſt " explane the councils, then the acts, laſtly " the events: that in the counſils, he ſhould " interpoſe his own judgment on the merit of " them: in the acts, ſhould relate not onely " what was done, but how it was done: in the " events ſhould ſhew, what ſhare chance or " raſhneſs or prudence had in them: that in re- " gard to perſons, he ſhould deſcribe, not " only their particular actions, but the lives " and characters of all thoſe, who bear an emi- " nent part in the ſtory: that he ſhould illu- " ſtrate the whole in a clear, eaſy, natural ſtile; " flowing with a perpetual ſmoothneſs, and " equability; free from the affectation of points " and ſentences, or the roughneſs of judicial " pleadings [*m*]."

We have no remains likewiſe of his Poetry, except ſome fragments occaſionally interſperſed through his other writings; yet theſe, as I have before obſerved, are ſufficient to convince us that his *poetical genius*, if it had been cultivated with the ſame care, would not have been inferior to his *Oratorial*. The two arts are ſo nearly allied, that an excellency in the one ſeems to imply a capacity for the other; the ſame qualities being eſſential to them both; a ſprightly fancy, fertile invention, flowing and numerous diction. It was in Cicero's time, that the old ruſticity of the Latin muſe firſt began to be poliſhed

[*m*] De Orator. 2. 15.

liſhed by the ornaments of dreſs, and the harmony of numbers; but the height of perfection, to which it was carried after his death by the ſucceding generation, as it left no room for *a mediocrity in Poetry*, ſo it quite eclipſed the fame of Cicero. For the world always judges of things by compariſon, and becauſe he was not ſo great a Poet, as Virgil and Horace, he was decried as none at all; eſpecially in the Courts of Antony and Auguſtus; where it was a compliment to the Sovereign, and a faſhion conſequently among the flatterers [*n*], to make his character ridiculous, where-ever it lay open to them: hence flowed that perpetual raillery, which ſubſiſts to this day, on his famous verſes;

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.
O fortunatam natam me Conſule Romam.

and two bad lines picked out by the malice of enemies, and tranſmitted to poſterity, as a ſpecimen of the reſt, have ſerved to damn many thouſands of good ones. For Plutarch reckons him among *the moſt eminent of the Roman Poets*; and Pliny the younger was proud of emulating him in his poetic character [*o*]; and Quintilian ſeems to charge the cavils of his cenſurers to *a principle of malignity* [*p*]. But his own verſes carry the ſureſt proof of their merit; being

[*n*] Poſtea vero quam Triumvirali proſcriptione conſumptus eſt, paſſim qui oderant, qui invidebant, qui æmulabantur, adulatores etiam præſentis potentiæ, non reſponſurum invaſerunt. Quin. 12. 10.

[*o*] Sed ego verear, ne me non fatis deceat, quod decuit M. Tullium — Ep. l. 5. 3.

[*p*] In carminibus utinam peperciſſet, quæ non defierunt carpere maligni. Quint. xi. 1.

written in the beſt manner of that age, in which he lived, and in the ſtile of Lucretius; whoſe Poem he is ſaid to have *reviſed and corrected*, for its publication, after Lucretius's death [*q*]. This however is certain, that he was the conſtant friend and generous patron of all the celebrated Poets of his time [*r*]; of Accius, Archias, Chilius; Lucretius; Catullus; who pays his thanks to him in the following lines for ſome favor, that he had received from him.

Tully, moſt eloquent by far
Of all, who have been or who are,
Or who in ages ſtill to come
Shall riſe of all the Sons of Rome.
To thee Catullus grateful ſends
His warmeſt thanks, and recommends
His humble muſe, as much below
All other Poets he, as Thou
All other Patrons doſt excell,
In power of words and ſpeaking well [*s*].

BUT Poetry was the amuſement onely, and relief of his other ſtudies: *Eloquence* was his diſtinguiſhing

[*q*] Euſeb. Chronic.

[*r*] Adjicis M. Tullium mira benignitate Poetarum ingenia foviſſe. Plin. Ep. 3. 15. Ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio Poeta audire ſum ſolitus. [Brut. 197.] Lucretii poemata, ut ſcribis, lita ſunt multis luminibus ingenii, ut multæ tamen artis. Ad Quint. 2. xi. Vid. ad Att. L. 9, 16.

[*s*] Diſertiſſime Romuli nepotum,
Quot ſunt, quotque fuere, Marce Tulli,
Quotque poſt aliis erunt in annis;
Gratias tibi maximas Catullus.
Agit, peſſimus omnium poeta
Tanto peſſimus omnium poeta
Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.

Catull. 47.

ſtinguiſhing talent, his ſovereign attribute: to this he devoted all the faculties of his ſoul, and attained to a degree of perfection in it, that no mortal ever ſurpaſſed: ſo that as a polite Hiſtorian obſerves, *Rome had but few Orators before him, whom it could praiſe; none whom it could admire* [*t*]. Demoſthenes was the pattern, by which he formed himſelf; whom he emulated with ſuch ſucceſs, as to merit, what St. *Jerom* calls *that beautiful eloge*; *Demoſthenes has ſnatched from thee the glory of being the firſt; thou from Demoſthenes, that of being the only Orator* [*u*]. The genius, the capacity, the ſtile and manner of them both were much the ſame; their eloquence of that great, ſublime and comprehenſive kind, which dignified every ſubject, and gave it all the force and beauty of which it was capable: it was that *roundneſs of ſpeaking*, as the ancients call it, where there was nothing either redundant or deficient; nothing either to be added or retrenched; their perfections were in all points ſo tranſcendent, and yet ſo ſimilar, that the Critics are not agreed on which ſide to give the preference: Quintilian indeed, the moſt judicious of them, has given it on the whole to Cicero: but if, as others have thought, Cicero had not all the nerves, the energy, or, as he himſelf calls it, *the thunder of Demoſthenes*; he

[*t*] At oratio—ita univerſa ſub principe operis ſui erupit Tullio; ut delectari ante eum pauciſſimis, mirari vero neminem poſſis—Vell. Pat. 1. 17.

[*u*] Demoſthenem igitur imitemur. O Dii boni! quid quaſi nos aliud agimus, aut quid aliud optamus?—Brut. 417.

M. Tullius, in quem pulcherrimum illud elogium eſt; Demoſthenes tibi præripuit, ne eſſes primus Orator; tu illi, ne ſolus. Ad Nepotian. de vita Clericor. Tom. 4. Edit. Bened.—

excelled him in the copiouſneſs and elegance of his diction, the variety of his ſentiments; and above all, *in the vivacity of his wit, and ſmartneſs of his raillery*; Demoſthenes had nothing *jocoſe or facetious* in him; yet by attempting ſometimes to jeſt, ſhewed, *that the thing itſelf did not diſpleaſe, but did not belong to him*: for, as Longinus ſays, *whenever he affected to be pleaſant, he made himſelf ridiculous; and if he happened to raiſe a laugh, it was chiefly upon himſelf.* Whereas Cicero, from a perpetual fund of wit and ridicule, had the power always to pleaſe, when he found himſelf unable to convince; and could put his Judges into good humor, when he had cauſe to be afraid of their ſeverity; ſo that *by the opportunity of a well-timed-joke*, he is ſaid to have *preſerved many of his Clients from manifeſt ruin* [x].

YET in all this heighth and fame of his eloquence, there was another ſet of Orators at the ſame time in *Rome*; men of parts and learning, and of the firſt quality; who, while they acknowledged the ſuperiority of his genius, yet cenſured his diction, as not truly *Attic or claſſical*: ſome calling it *looſe and languid*; others *tumid and exuberant* [y]. Theſe men affected a minute

[x] Huic diverſa virtus, quæ riſum judicis movendo —plerique Demoſtheni facultatem hujus rei defuiſſe credunt, Ciceroni modum— nec videri poteſt noluiſſe Demoſthenes, cujus pauca admodum dicta — oſtendunt non diſplicuiſſe illi jocos, ſed non contigiſſe—mihi vero— mira quædam videtur in Cicerone fuiſſe urbanitas — [Quintil. l. 6. 3. ib. x. 1. Longin. de Sublim. c. 34.] Ut pro L. Flacco, quem reputundarum reum joci oportunitate de manifeſtiſſimis criminibus exemit—&c. Macrob. Sat. 2. 1.

[y] Conſtat nec Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuiſſe, quibus inflatus & tumens, nec ſatis preſſus, ſupra modum exultans, & ſuperfluens, & parum

a minute and faſtidious correctneſs, *pointed ſentences, ſhort and conciſe periods*, without a ſyllable to ſpare in them; as if the perfection of Oratory conſiſted *in a frugality of words*, and in crouding our ſentiments into the narroweſt compaſs [z]. The chief Patrons of this taſte were, M. Brutus, Licinius, Calvus, Aſinius Pollio and Salluſt; whom Seneca ſeems to treat, as the author of *the obſcure, abrupt, and ſententious ſtile* [a]. Cicero often ridicules the pretenders to *Attic* elegance; as judging of eloquence, *not by the force of the art, but their own weakneſs*; and reſolving to decry what they could not attain; and to admire nothing, but what they could imitate [b]: and though their way of ſpeaking, he ſays, might pleaſe *the ear of a critic or a ſcholar*, yet it was not of that *ſublime and ſonorous* kind, whoſe end was not only *to inſtruct, but to move* an audience: and eloquence, born for the multitude; whoſe merit was always ſhewn by its effects, of *exciting admiration, and extorting ſhouts of applauſe*; and on which there never was *any difference of judgment between the learned and the populace* [c].

parum Atticus videretur, &c. Tacit. Dialog. 18. Vid. Quintil. 12. 1.

[z] Mihi falli multum videntur, qui ſolos eſſe Atticos credunt, tenues & lucidos & ſignificantes, ſed quadam eloquentiæ frugalitate contentos, ac manum ſemper intra pallium continentes. Quintil. xii. c. x.

[a] Sic Salluſtio vigente, amputatæ ſententiæ, & verba ante expectatum cadentia, & obſcura brevitas, fuere pro cultu. L. Sen. Epiſt. 114.

[b] Itaque nobis monendi ſunt ii,—qui aut dici ſe deſiderant Atticos, aut ipſi Attice volunt dicere, ut mirentur Demoſthenem maxime —eloquentiamque ipſius viribus, non imbecilitate ſua, metiantur. Nunc enim tantum quiſque laudat, quantum ſe poſſe ſperat imitari. Orator. 248. Vid. Tuſc. Quæſt. 2. 1.

[c] Sed ad Calvum revertamur: qui—metuens ne vitioſum

THIS was the genuin eloquence, that prevailed in *Rome* as long as Cicero lived: his were the onely ſpeeches that were reliſhed or admired by the City; while thoſe *Attic* orators, as they called themſelves, were generally deſpiſed and frequently *deſerted by the audience* in the midſt of their harangues [*d*]. But after Cicero's death and the ruin of the Republic, the *Roman* oratory ſunk of courſe with its liberty, and a falſe ſpecies univerſally prevailed; when inſtead of that elate, copious, and flowing eloquence, which launched out freely into every ſubject, there ſucceeded a guarded, dry, ſententious kind; full of labored turns and ſtudied points; and proper onely for the occaſion on which it was employed; the making panegyricks, and ſervile compliments to their Tyrants. This change of ſtile may be obſerved in all their writers from Cicero's time, to the younger Pliny; who carried it to it's utmoſt perfection in his celebrated *Panegyric* on the Emperor Trajan: which, as it is juſtly admired for the elegance of diction, the beauty of ſentiments, and the delicacy of its compliments, ſo is become in a manner the ſtandard of fine ſpeaking to modern times: where it is common to hear the pretenders to Criticiſm deſcanting on the tedious length and ſpiritleſs exuberance of the *Ciceronian* periods. But

tioſum colligeret, etiam verum ſanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis & attente audientibus erat illuſtris; a multitudine autem & a foro, cui nata eloquentia eſt, devorabatur. Brut. 410.

Itaque nunquam de bono Oratore & non bono doctis hominibus cum populo diſſenſio fuit—&c. ibid. 297.

[*d*] At cum iſti Attici dicant, non modo a corona, quod eſt ipſum miſerabile, ſed etiam ab Advocatis relinquuntur. Ib. 417.

But the ſuperiority of Cicero's eloquence, as it was acknowledged by the politeſt age of *free Rome*; ſo it has received the moſt authentic confirmation, that the nature of things can admit, from the concurrent ſenſe of nations; which, neglecting the productions of his rivals and contemporaries, have preſerved to us his ineſtimable remains, as a ſpecimen of the moſt perfect manner of ſpeaking, to which the language of mortals can be exalted: ſo that, as Quintilian declared of him even in that early age, he has acquired ſuch fame with poſterity, that Cicero is not reckoned ſo much *the name of a man, as of eloquence itſelf* [*e*].

But we have hitherto been conſidering chiefly the exterior part of Cicero's character, and ſhall now attempt to penetrate the receſſes of his mind, and diſcover the real ſource and principle of his actions, from a view of that Philoſophy, which he profeſſed to follow, as the general rule of his life. This, as he often declares, was drawn from *the Academic ſect*; which derived its origin from Socrates, and its name from a celebrated *Gymnaſium*, or place of exerciſe in the ſuburbs of *Athens*, called *the Academy*; where the profeſſors of that ſchool uſed to hold their lectures and philoſophical diſputations [*f*].

[*e*] Apud poſteros vero id conſecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, ſed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Quintil. x. 1.

[*f*] Illi autem, qui Platonis inſtituto in Academia, quod eſt alterum gymnaſium, cœtus erant & ſermones habere ſoliti, e loci vocabulo nomen habuerunt. Academ. 1. 4.

N. B. This celebrated place, which Serv. Sulpicius, calls, *the nobleſt Gymnaſium of the world*, took it's name from one Ecademus, an ancient Hero, who poſſeſſed it in the time of the Tyndaridæ. But famous as it was, it was purchaſed afterwards for about *one hundred pounds*, and dedicated to the Public, for

Socrates was the firſt who baniſhed *Phyſics out of Philoſophy*, which till his time had been the ſole object of it; and drew it off from the obſcure and intricate inquiries into nature, and the conſtitution of the heavenly bodies, to queſtions of morality; of more immediate uſe and importance to the happineſs of man; concerning the true notions *of virtue and vice, and the natural difference of good and ill* [*g*]: and as he found the world generally prepoſſeſſed with falſe notions on thoſe ſubjects, ſo his method was, *not to aſſert any opinion of his own, but to refute the opinions of others*, and attack the errors in vogue; as the firſt ſtep towards preparing men for the reception of truth, or what came the neareſt to it, probability [*b*]. While he himſelf therefore profeſſed to *know nothing*, he uſed to ſift out the ſeveral doctrines of all the pretenders to ſcience; and then teize them with a ſeries of queſtions ſo contrived, as to reduce them,

for the convenience of walks and exerciſes for the Citizens of *Athens*; and was gradually improved and adorned by the rich, who had received benefit or pleaſure from it, with plantations of groves, ſtately portico's, and commodious apartments; for the particular uſe of the Profeſſors or Maſters of the Academic School; where ſeveral of them are ſaid to have ſpent their lives, and to have reſided ſo ſtrictly, as ſcarce ever to have come within the City. Ep. fam. 4. 12. Plut. in Theſeo. 15. Diog. Laert. in Plato. §. 7. Plutar. de Exil. 603.

[*g*] Socrates — id quod conſtat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, & ab ipſa natura involutis —avocaviſſe philoſophiam & ad vitam communem adduxiſſe, ut de virtutibus & vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus & malis quæreret, &c. ibid. vid. it. Tuſc. Quæſt. 5. 4.

[*b*] E quibus nos id potiſſimum conſecuti ſumus, quo Socratem uſum arbitrabamur; ut noſtram ipſi ſententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus; & in omni diſputatione, quid eſſet ſimillimum veri quæreremus. Tuſc. Quæſt. 5. 4. it. 1. 4.

them, by the courſe of their anſwers, to an evident abſurdity, and the impoſſibility of defending what they had at firſt affirmed [*i*].

But Plato did not ſtrictly adhere to the method of his maſter Socrates; and his followers wholly deſerted it: for inſtead of the *ſocratic* modeſty of affirming nothing, and examining every thing, they turned *Philoſophy, as it were, into an art*; and formed a ſyſtem of opinions, which they delivered to their diſciples, as the peculiar tenets of their ſect [*k*]. Plato's Nephew, Speuſippus, who was left the heir of his ſchool, continued his lectures, as his ſucceſſors alſo did, in the *Academy*, and preſerv'd the name of *Academics*; whilſt Ariſtotle, the moſt eminent of Plato's ſcholars, retired to another *Gymnaſium*, called the *Lyceum*; where from a cuſtom which he and his followers obſerved, of teaching and diſputing as they *walked* in the Portico's of the place, they obtained the name of *Peripatetics*, or the walking Philoſophers. Theſe two ſects, tho' differing in name, agreed generally in things, or in all the principal points of their philoſophy: they placed the chief happineſs of man *in virtue, with a competency of external goods*; taught *the exiſtence of a God, a Providence, the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments* [*l*].

This

[*i*] Socrates enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere ſolebat opiniones eorum, quibuſcum diſſerebat —de Fin. 2. 1.

[*k*] Illam autem Socraticam dubitationem de omnibus rebus, & nulla adfirmatione adhibita conſuetudinem diſſerendi reliquerunt. Ita acta eſt, quod minime Socrates próbabat, ars quædam Philoſophiæ, & rerum ordo & deſcriptio diſciplinæ —— Academ. 1. 4.

[*l*] Sed idem fons erat utriſque, & eadem rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque partitio. [Acad. 1. 4, 6, 8]. Peripateticos & Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes. Ib. 2. 5.

THIS was the ſtate of the Academic ſchool under five ſucceſſive maſters, who governed it after Plato; Speuſippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor; till Arceſilas the ſixth diſcarded at once all the ſyſtems of his Predeceſſors, and reviv'd the *ſocratic* way, *of affirming nothing, doubting of all things*, and expoſing the vanity of the reigning opinions [*m*]. He alledged the neceſſity of making this reformation, from *that obſcurity of things*, which had reduced Socrates *and all the Ancients before him, to a confeſſion of their ignorance:* he obſerved, as they had all likewiſe done, *that the ſenſes were narrow, reaſon infirm, life ſhort, truth immerſed in the deep, opinion and cuſtom every where predominant; and all things involved in darkneſs* [*n*]. He taught therefore, "That there was no certain know-"lege or perception of any thing in nature; "nor any infallible criterion of truth and falſe-"hood; that nothing was ſo deteſtable as raſh-"neſs; nothing ſo ſcandalous to a Philoſopher, "as to profeſs, what was either falſe or un-"known to him; that we ought to aſſert no-"thing dogmatically; but in all caſes ſuſ-"pend our aſſent; and inſtead of pretending "to certainty, content ourſelves with opinion, "grounded on probability; which was all that

"a

[*m*] Arceſilas primum, ex variis Platonis libris, ſermonibuſq; Socraticis hoc maxime eripuit, nihil eſſe certi, quod aut ſenſibus aut animo percipi poſſit—de Orat. 3. 18.

[*n*] Non pertinacia ſed earum rerum obſcuritate, quæ ad confeſſionem ignorantiæ adduxerant Socratem, & —— omnes pæne veteres; qui nihil cognoſci, nihil percepi, nihil ſciri poſſe dixerunt; anguſtos ſenſus; imbecillos animos; brevia curricula vitæ; in profundo veritatem demerſam; opinionibus & inſtitutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfuſa eſſe dixerunt. Acad. 1. 13.

" a rational mind had to acquiesce in." This was called *the new Academy*, in distinction from *the Platonic*, or *the Old:* which maintained its credit down to Cicero's time, by succession of able Masters; the chief of whom was Carneades, the fourth from Arcesilas; who carried it to its utmost height of glory, and is greatly celebrated by antiquity for the vivacity of his wit and force of his eloquence [*o*].

We must not however imagine, that these *Academics* continued doubting and fluctuating all their lives in scepticism and irresolution, without any precise opinions, or settled principle of judging and acting [*p*]: no; their rule was as certain and consistent as that of any other sect; as it is frequently explained by Cicero in many parts of his works. " We are not of that " sort, says he, whose mind is perpetually wan- " dering in error, without any particular end " or object of its pursuit: for what would such " a mind, or such a life indeed be worth, which " had no determinate rule or method of think- " ing and acting? But the difference between " us and the rest is, that whereas they call " some things *certain*, and others *uncertain*; " we call the one *probable*, the other *improba-* " *ble*.

[*o*] Hanc Academiam novam appellant;—quæ usque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arcesila fuit, in eadem Arcesilæ ratione permansit — [Academ. 1. 13.] Ut hæc in philosophia ratio contra omnia differendi, nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade, usque ad nostram viguit ætatem [de Nat. Deor. 1. 5.] Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua exstitit divina quadam celeritate ingenii, dicendique copia Carneades—De Orat. 3. 18.

[*p*] Neque enim Academici, cum in utrumque dixerunt partem, non secundum alteram vivunt. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

" *ble.* For what reaſon then ſhould not I pur-
" ſue *the probable*, reject the contrary, and de-
" clining the arrogance of affirming, avoid the
" imputation of raſhneſs; which of all things
" is the fartheſt removed from wiſdom [*q*]?
" Again; we do not pretend to ſay, that there
" is no ſuch thing as truth; but that all truths
" have ſome falſehoods annexed to them, of ſo
" near a reſemblance and ſimilitude, as to af-
" ford no certain note of diſtinction, whereby
" to determine our judgment and aſſent:
" whence it follows alſo of courſe, that there
" are many things *probable*; which, tho' not
" perfectly comprehended, yet on account of
" their attractive and ſpecious appearance, are
" ſufficient to govern the life of a wiſe man [*r*].
" In another place, there is no difference, ſays
" he between us and thoſe who pretend to know
" things; but that they never doubt of the
" truth of what they maintain; whereas we
" have many *Probabilities*, which we readily
" embrace, but dare not affirm. By this we
" preſerve our judgment free and unprejudi-
" ced, and are under no neceſſity of defending
" what is preſcribed and injoined to us: whereas
" in the other ſects, men are tied down to cer-
" tain doctrines, before they are capable of
" judging what is the beſt; and in the moſt
" infirm part of life, drawn either by the au-
" thority of a friend, or charmed with the firſt
" maſter whom they happen to hear, they form
" a judgment of things unknown to them;
" and to whatever ſchool they chance to be dri-
" ven by the tide, cleave to it as faſt as the
" Oyſter to the rock [*s*]." THUS

[*q*] De Offic. 2. 2.
[*r*] Le Nat. Deor. 1. 5.
[*s*] Academ. 2. 3.

N. B. THIS ſketch of the principles of the Academy, may enable us to decide that famou

THUS *the Academy* held the proper medium between the rigor of the Stoic and the indifference of the Sceptic: the Stoics embraced all their doctrines, as so many *fix'd and immutable truths*, from which it was infamous to depart; and by making this their point of honor, held all their disciples in an inviolable attachment to them. The sceptics on the other hand, observed a perfect neutrality towards all opinions; maintaining all of them to be equally uncertain; and that we could not affirm of any thing, *that it was this or that*, since there was *as much reason to take it for the one as for the other, or for neither of them*; and wholly indifferent which of them

famous contest among the Critics, about the reading of the following passage in Cicero's treatise *on the nature of the Gods*. [l. 1. 1.] *De qua tam variæ sunt doctissimorum hominum, tamque discrepantes sententiæ, ut magno argumento esse debeat, causam, id est, principium philosophiæ esse,* scientiam, [Inscientiam;] *prudenterque Academicos a rebus incertis assensionem cohibuisse.* The question is, whether we should read *scientiam*, or *inscientiam*: the greatest part of the editions and MSS gives us the first; but Aldus Manutius and Dr. Davies prefer the second; which I take to be the true reading. For Cicero's meaning in this place is, from the dissentions of the learned on a subject of so great importance, to illustrate a fundamental maxim of his sect, that *the natural obscurity of things, and man's consciousness of his ignorance was the first cause or incitement to the study of Philosophy*. Plato had expressed the same sentiment before him, where he says, *that to wonder at things was the common affection of a Philosopher, and what alone gave rise, or a beginning to Philosophy itself.* [in Theætet. p. 155. Edit. Serr.] whence Cicero draws this inference, which he frequently inculcates in other parts of his works, that the *Academy therefore acted prudently in with-holding it's assent*, and maintaining, that there was no such thing as *Science, or absolute certainty* within the reach of man. If this then be the sense of the passage, as it appears evidently to be, it necessarily requires *inscientiam* to make it consistent—*See the translation of L' Abbe D'Olivet, and his notes on the place, and Edit. Davies. Cantab.*

them we thought it to be: thus they lived, without ever engaging themſelves on any ſide of a queſtion; directing their lives in the mean time by natural affections, and the laws and cuſtoms of their country [*t*]. But the *Academics*, by adopting *the probable* inſtead of *the certain*, kept the balance in an equal poiſe between the two extremes; making it their general principle, to obſerve a moderation in all their opinions; and, as Plutarch, who was one of them, tells us, paying a great regard always to that old maxim;

Μηδὲν ἄγαν; *ne quid nimis* [*u*].

As this ſchool then was in no particular oppoſition to any, but an equal adverſary to all, or rather to dogmatical Philoſophy in general, ſo every other ſect, next to itſelf, readily gave it the preference to the reſt: which univerſal conceſſion of the ſecond place is commonly thought to infer a right to the firſt [*x*]: and if we reflect on the ſtate of the Heathen world, and what they themſelves ſo often complain of, the darkneſs that ſurrounded them, and *the infinite diſſentions* of the beſt and wiſeſt on the fundamental queſtions of religion and morality [*y*]; we muſt neceſſarily allow, that the *Academic* manner of philoſophizing was of all others the moſt rational and modeſt, and the beſt adapted to

[*t*] Vid. Sext. Empirici, Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. A. Gell. xi. 5.

[*u*]—μέλλων εἰς πάντα, τιμήσειν τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἐν Ακαδημίᾳ γενόμενος; εἴ που. in lib. de Ei apud Delph. 387. it. lib. de primo frigido. fin.

[*x*] Academico Sapienti ab omnibus cæterarum Sexta-

rum—ſecundæ partes dantur—ex quo poteſt probabiliter confici, eum recte primum eſſe ſuo judicio, qui omnium cæterorum judicio ſit ſecundus. Fragment. Academ. ex Auguſtin.

[*y*] De Nat. Deor. 1. 1. 3. Academ. 2. 3. 1, 13.

to the discovery of truth whose peculiar character it was to encourage inquiry; to sift every question to the bottom; to try the force of every argument, till it had found its real moment, or the precise quantity of its weight [z]. This it was that induced Cicero, in his advanced life and ripened judgment, to desert *the old Academy*, and declare for *the new*; when from a long experience of the vanity of those sects, who called themselves the proprietors of truth, and the sole guides of life, and through a despair of finding *any thing certain*, he was glad, after all his pains, to take up with the *probable* [a]. But the genius and general character of *both the Academys* was in some measure still the same: for *the old*, tho' it professed to teach a peculiar system of doctrines, yet was ever diffident and cautious of affirming; and *the new* onely the more scrupulous and sceptical of the two; this appears from the writings of Plato, the first Master of the old; in which, as Cicero observes, *nothing is absolutely affirmed, nothing delivered for certain*, but all things freely inquired into, and both sides of the question impartially discussed [b]. Yet there was another reason that recommended

[z] Neque nostræ disputationes quicquam aliud agunt, nisi ut, in utramque partem differendo, eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum sit, aut ad id quam proxime accedat. Academ. 2. 3.

[a] Relictam a te, inquit, veterem jam, tractari autem novam—[ib. 4.] Ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut verisimilia videam, non habeo: certa dicent hi, qui & percipi ea posse dicunt, & se sapientes profitentur [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.] Sed ne in maximis quidem rebus, quidquam adhuc inveni firmius, quod tenerem, aut quo judicium meum dirigerem, quam id, quodcumque mihi simillimum veri videretur, cum ipsum illud verum in occulto lateret. Orator. fin.

[b] Cujus in libris nihil affirmatur, & in utramque partem multa differuntur, de omnibus quæritur nihil certi dicitur. Academ. 1. 13.

mended this Philoſophy in a peculiar manner to Cicero; its being, of all other, the beſt ſuited to the profeſſion of an Orator: ſince by its practice of diſputing *for and againſt* every opinion of the other ſects, it gave him the beſt opportunity of perfecting his oratorial faculty, and acquiring a habit of ſpeaking readily upon all ſubjects. He calls it therefore *the parent of elegance and copiouſneſs*; and declares, *that he owed all the fame of his eloquence, not to the mechanic rules of the Rhetoricians, but to the enlarged and generous principles of the Academy* [*c*].

THIS ſchool however was almoſt deſerted in *Greece*, and had but few diſciples at *Rome*, when Cicero undertook its patronage, and endeavour'd to revive its drooping credit. The reaſon is obvious: it impoſed a hard taſk upon its ſcholars, of diſputing againſt every ſect, and on every queſtion in Philoſophy; and *if it was difficult, as* Cicero ſays, *to be maſter of any one, how much more of them all?* which was incumbent on thoſe who profeſſed themſelves *Academics* [*d*]. No wonder then that it loſt ground every where, in propor-

[*c*] Itaque mihi ſemper Academiæ conſuetudo, de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes differendi, non ob eam cauſam ſolum placuit, quod aliter non poſſet quid in quaque re veriſimile ſit inveniri, ſed etiam quod eſſet ea maxima dicendi exercitatio——[Tuſc. Quæſt. 2. 3. vid. Quintil. 12. 2.] Ego autem fateor; me oratorem, ſi modo ſim, aut etiam quicumque ſim, non ex Rhetorum officinis, ſed ex Academiæ ſpatiis extitiſſe. [Orator. ſub init.] Nos ea philoſophia plus utimur, quæ peperit dicendi copiam. Procem. Paradox.

[*d*] Quam nunc propediem orbam eſſe in Græcia intelligo—nam ſi ſingulas diſciplinas percipere magnum eſt, quanto majus omnes? quod facere iis neceſſe eſt, quibus propoſitum eſt, veri reperiendi cauſa, & contra omnes philoſophos, & pro omnibus dicere. — De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

proportion as eaſe and luxury prevailed; which naturally diſpoſed people to the doctrine of *Epicurus:* in relation to which, there is a ſmart ſaying recorded of Arceſilas; who being aſked, *why ſo many of all ſects went over to the Epicureans, but none ever came back from them*, replied, *that men might be made Eunuchs, but Eunuchs could never become men again* [*e*].

THIS general view of Cicero's Philoſophy, will help us to account in ſome meaſure, for that difficulty which people frequently complain of, in diſcovering his real ſentiments; as well as for the miſtakes which they are apt to fall into in that ſearch: ſince it was the diſtinguiſhing principle of *the Academy, to refute the opinions of others, rather than declare any of their own.* Yet the chief difficulty does not lie here: for Cicero was not ſcrupulous on that head, nor affected any obſcurity in the delivery of his thoughts, when it was his buſineſs to explane them: but it is the variety and different character of his ſe-

[*e*] Diog. Laert. de Arceſila. ——

DIOGENES LAERTIUS, and ſome later writers, ſpeak of a third or *middle Academy* between *the Old and the New*, in which they are commonly followed by the moderns, who make *Plato the Founder of the old*; *Arceſilas of the middle*; *Carneades of the New.* [See Stanley's Lives of Philoſoph. in Carneades.] But there was no real ground for ſuch a diſtinction: ſince Cicero never mentions any other, but *the old and the new*; and expreſsly declares the laſt to have ſubſiſted under that denomination, *down to his own days*, as well under Carneades, as Arceſilas: and ſo far from ſplitting them into *three Academies*, Cicero's maſter Philo maintained conſtantly in his books, that there never was in reality *any more than one*; grounding his argument on what I have obſerved above; the ſimilar nature and genius of *the two.* Acad. 1. 4. Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academiam, *hanc ab Arceſila & Carneade recentem*, exoremus ut ſileat. De Leg. 1, 13.

veral writings that perplexes the generality of his readers: for where-ever they dip into his works, they are apt to fancy themſelves poſſeſſed of his ſentiments, and to quote them indifferently as ſuch, whether from *his Orations*, *his Dialogues*, *or his Letters*, without attending to the peculiar nature of the work, or the different perſon that he aſſumes in it.

HIS orations are generally of the judicial kind; or the pleadings of an Advocate, whoſe buſineſs it was to make the beſt of his cauſe; and to deliver, not ſo much what was true, as what was uſeful to his Client; the patronage of truth belonging in ſuch caſes to the Judge, and not to the pleader [*f*]. It would be abſurd therefore to require a ſcrupulous veracity, or ſtrict declaration of his ſentiments in them: the thing does not admit of it; and he himſelf forbids us to expect it; and in one of thoſe orations frankly declares the true nature of them all — "that man, ſays he, is much miſtaken, who "thinks, that in theſe judicial pleadings, he "has an authentic ſpecimen of our opinions: "they are the ſpeeches of the cauſes and the "times; not of the men, or the advocates: if "the cauſes could ſpeak for themſelves, no "body would employ an orator: but we are "employed to ſpeak, not what we would un-"dertake to affirm upon our authority, but "what is ſuggeſted by the cauſe and the thing "itſelf.

[*f*] Judicis eſt ſemper in cauſis verum ſequi; Patroni, nonnunquam verifimile, etiam ſi minus ſit verum defendere: quod ſcribere, præſertim cum de Philoſophia ſcriberem, non auderem, niſi idem placeret graviſſimo Stoicorum Panætio. De Offic. 2. 14.

"itſelf [*g*]." Agreeably to this notion, Quintilian tells us, "that thoſe who are truly wiſe, "and have ſpent their time in public affairs, "and not in idle diſputes, tho' they have re- "ſolved with themſelves to be ſtrictly honeſt "in all their actions, yet will not ſcruple to "uſe every argument, that can be of ſervice "to the cauſe, which they have undertaken to "defend [*h*]." In his orations therefore, where we often meet with the ſentences and maxims of philoſophy, we cannot always take them for his own, but as topics applied to move his audience, or to add an air of gravity and probability to his ſpeech [*i*].

His Letters indeed to familiar friends, and eſpecially thoſe to Atticus, place the real man before us, and lay open his very heart: yet in theſe ſome diſtinction muſt neceſſarily be obſerved; for in Letters of compliment, condolence, or recommendation, or where he is ſolliciting any point of importance, he adapts his arguments to the occaſion; and uſes ſuch as would induce his friend the moſt readily to grant what he deſired. But as his Letters in general ſeldom touch upon any queſtions of philoſophy, except ſlightly and incidentally, ſo they will afford ve-

[*g*] Sed errat vehementer, ſi quis in orationibus noſtris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates noſtras conſignatas ſe habere, arbitratur. Pro A. Cluent. 50.

[*h*] Quintil. l. xi. 1.

[*i*] Though his Orations are not always the proper vouchers of his opinions, yet they are the beſt teſtimonies that can be alledged for the truth of facts: eſpecially thoſe, which were ſpoken to the Senate or the People; where he refers to the acts and characters of perſons then living, before an audience, that was generally as well acquainted with them as himſelf: and it is in ſuch caſes chiefly, that I lay any great ſtreſs upon them.

ry little help to us in the discovery of his *philosophical opinions*, which are the subject of the present enquiry, and for which we must wholly recur to his philosophical works.

Now the general purpose of these works was, to give *a history rather of the ancient philosophy*, than any account of his own, and to explane to his fellow citizens in their own language, whatever the philosophers of all sects, and in all ages, had taught on every important question, in order to enlarge their minds, and reform their morals; and to employ himself the most usefully to his country, at a time when arms and a superior force had deprived him of the power of serving it in any other way [*k*]. This he declares in his treatise called *de Finibus*, or on *the chief good or ill of man*; in that upon *the Nature of the Gods*; in his *Tusculan Disputations*; and in his book on the *Academic Philosophy*: in all which he sometimes takes upon himself the part of *a Stoic*; sometimes of an *Epicurean*; sometimes of *the Peripatetic*; for the sake of explaning with more authority the different doctrines of each sect: and as he assumes the person of the one, to confute the other, so in his proper character of *an Academic*, he sometimes disputes against them all: while the unwary reader, not reflecting on the nature of dialogues, takes Cicero still for the perpetual speaker: and under that

[*k*] Nam cum otio langueremus, & is esset Reipub. status, ut eum unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset, primum ipsius Reipub. causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi: magni existimans interesse ad decus & ad laudem civitatis, res tam graves, tamque præclaras latinis etiam litteris contineri. De Nat. Deor. 1. 5. it. Acad. 1. 5. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 1. De Finib. 1. 3, 4.

that miſtake, often quotes a ſentiment for his, that was delivered by him onely in order to be confuted. But in theſe dialogues, as in all his other works, where-ever he treats any ſubject profeſſedly, or gives a judgment upon it deliberately, either in his own perſon, or that of *an Academic*, there he delivers his own opinions: and where he himſelf does not appear in the ſcene, he takes care uſually to inform us, to which of the characters he has aſſigned the patronage of his own ſentiments: who was generally the principal ſpeaker of the Dialogue; as Craſſus, in his treatiſe *on the Orator*; Scipio, in that on *the Republic*; Cato, in his piece on *old age*. This key will let us into his real thoughts; and enable us to trace his genuin notions through every part of his writings; from which I ſhall now procede to give a ſhort abſtract of them.

As to *Phyſics*, or natural philoſophy, he ſeems to have had the ſame notion with Socrates, that a minute and particular attention to it, and the making it the ſole end and object of our inquiries, was a ſtudy rather curious than profitable, and contributing but little to the improvement of human life [*l*]. For tho' he was perfectly acquainted with the various ſyſtems of all the Philoſophers of any name, from the earlieſt Antiquity, and has explaned them all in his works; yet he did not think it worth while, either to form any diſtinct opinions of his own, or at leaſt to declare them. From his account however of thoſe ſyſtems we may obſerve, that ſeveral

[*l*] Ut enim modo dixi, omnibus fere in rebus, & maxime in Phyſicis, quid non ſit, citius, quam quid ſit, dixerim. De Nat. Deor. 1. 21. Acad. 2. 39.

veral of the fundamental principles of the modern philoſophy, which paſs for the original diſcoveries of theſe later times, are the revival rather of ancient notions, maintained by ſome of the firſt Philoſophers, of whom we have any notice in Hiſtory; as *the motion of the earth*; *the Antipodes*; *a Vacuum*; *and an univerſal gravitation, or attractive quality of matter*; which holds the world in its preſent form and order [*m*].

BUT in all the great points of religion and morality, which are of more immediate relation to the happineſs of man, *the Being of a God*; *a Providence*; *the immortality of the ſoul*; *a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*; *and the eternal difference of good and ill*; he has largely and clearly declared his mind in many parts of his writings. He maintained, that there was *one God, or ſupreme Being*; *incorporeal, eternal, ſelf-exiſtent*; *who created the world by his power, and ſuſtained it by his providence.* This he inferred from *the conſent of all nations*; *the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies*; *the evident marks of counſil, wiſdom, and a fitneſs to certain ends, obſervable in the whole, and in every part of the viſible world*; and declares that perſon *unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance*; *when with the utmoſt ſtretch of human wiſdom we cannot penetrate the depth of that wiſdom which contrived it* [*n*].

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[*m*] De Nat. Deor. 2, 45. Acad. 2. 38, 39.

[*n*] Nec Deus ipſe—alio modo intelligi poteſt, niſi mens ſoluta quædam & libera, ſegregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia ſentiens & movens, ipſaque prædita motu ſempiterno. [Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 27.] Sed omnes gentes, una lex & ſempiterna & immortalis continebit, unuſque erit quaſi Magiſter, & Imperator omnium Deus—Fragm. l. 3. de Repub.—

Ut porro firmiſſimum hoc

He believed alſo a *divine Providence* conſtantly preſiding over the whole ſyſtem, and extending its care to all the principal members of it, with a peculiar attention *to the conduct and actions of men*; but leaving *the minute and inferior parts* to the courſe of his general laws. This he collected from the nature and attributes of the Deity; *his omniſcience, omnipreſence, and infinite goodneſs*; that could never deſert or neglect what he had once produced into being: and declares that without this belief there could be no ſuch thing *as piety or religion in the world* [o].

He held likewiſe *the immortality of the ſoul, and its ſeparate exiſtence after death in a ſtate of happineſs or miſery*. This he inferred from *that ardent thirſt of immortality*, which was always the moſt conſpicuous in the beſt and moſt exalted

adferri videtur, cur Deos eſſe credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera — cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio —omni autem in re conſenſio omnium gentium lex naturæ putandæ eſt — [Tuſc. quæſt. 1. 14.] Hæc igitur & talia innumerabilia cum cernimus; poſſumuſne dubitare, quin his præſit aliquis vel effector, (ſi hæc nata ſunt, ut Platoni videtur,) vel, ſi ſemper fuerunt, (ut Ariſtoteli placet) moderator tanti operis & muneris. [ib. 28.] Id eſt primum, quod inter omnes, niſi admodum impios, convenit, mihi quidem ex animo exuri non poteſt, eſſe Deos. [Nat. Deor. 3. 3.] Eſſe præſtantem aliquam, æternamque naturam, & eum ſuſpiciendam, admirandumque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordoque rerum cœleſtium cogit confiteri. [de Divin. 2. 72.] Quæ quanto conſilio gerantur, nullo conſilio aſſequi poſſumus. De Nat. Deor. 2. 38.

[o] De maxima autem re, eodem modo; divina mente atque natura mundum univerſum atque maximas ejus partes adminiſtrari—[de Fin. 4. 5.] Quam vim animum eſſe dicunt mundi, eandemque eſſe mentem ſapientiamque perfectam; quem Deum appellant, omniumq; rerum, quæ ſunt ei ſubjectæ, quaſi prudentiam quandam, procurantem cœleſtia maxime, deinde in turris ea, quæ pertinent ad homines. Academ. 1. 8. vid. Nat. Deor. 1, 2, 44. 2. 66. 3. 36.

alted minds; from which the trueſt ſpecimen of their nature muſt needs be drawn: from *its unmix'd and indiviſible eſſence*; which had nothing ſeparable or periſhable in it: from its wonderful powers and faculties; *its principle of ſelf motion*; *its memory*, *invention*, *wit*, *comprehenſion*; *which were all incompatible with ſluggiſh matter* [*p*].

THE *Stoics* fancied that *the Soul was a ſubtilized*, *fiery ſubſtance*, which ſurvived the body after death, and ſubſiſted a long time, yet not eternally; but was to periſh at laſt in the general conflagration. In which they allowed, as Cicero ſays, *the onely thing that was hard to conceive*, *its ſeparate exiſtence from the body*; *yet denied what was not onely eaſy to imagine*, *but a conſequence of the other*, *its eternal duration* [*q*]. Ariſtotle taught, that beſides *the four elements of the material world*, whence all other things were ſuppoſed to draw their being, there was *a fifth eſſence or nature*, *peculiar to God and the Soul*, which

[*p*] Quod quidem ni ita ſe haberet, ut animi immortales eſſent, haud optimi cujuſque animus maxime ad immortalitatem niteretur. [Cato. 23.] Num dubitas, quin ſpecimen naturæ capi debeat ex optima quaque natura?—[Tuſc. quæſt. 1. 14.] Sic mihi perſuaſi, ſic ſentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum ſit, tanta memoria præteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tot ſcientiæ, tot inventa, non poſſe eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, eſſe mortalem: cumque ſemper agitetur animus, &c. Cato 21. Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 23, 25, 26, &c. de Amicit. 4.

[*q*] Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur. [Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 9.] Stoici autem uſuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu manſuros aiunt animos, ſemper negant —qui, quod in tota hac cauſa difficillimum eſt, ſuſcipiunt, poſſe animum manere corpore vacantem: illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum eſt ſed, eo conceſſo quod volunt, conſequens idcirco, non dant, ut cum diu permanſerit ne intereat. Ib. 1. 31. 32.

which had nothing in it that was common to any of the reſt [*r*]. This opinion Cicero followed, and illuſtrated with his uſual perſpicuity in the following paſſage.

"THE origin of the human ſoul, ſays he, "is not to be found any where on earth; there "is nothing mixed, concrete, or earthly; no- "thing of water, air, or fire in it. For theſe "natures are not ſuſceptible of memory, intel- "ligence or thought; have nothing that can "retain the paſt, foreſee the future, lay hold "on the preſent; which faculties are purely "divine, and could not poſſibly be derived to "man, except from God. The nature of the "ſoul therefore is of a ſingular kind; diſtinct "from theſe known and obvious natures: and "whatever it be that feels and taſtes, that lives "and moves in us, it muſt be heavenly and "divine, and for that reaſon eternal. Nor is "God indeed himſelf, whoſe exiſtence we "clearly diſcover, to be comprehended by us "in any other manner, but as a free and pure "mind, clear from all mortal concretion; ob- "ſerving and moving all things; and indued "with an eternal principle of ſelf-motion: "of this kind, and of the ſame nature is the "human ſoul [*s*]."

As to *a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*, he conſidered it as a conſequence of the ſoul's immortality; deducible from the *attributes of God, and the condition of man's life on earth*; and thought it ſo highly probable, *that we could hardly doubt of it*, he ſays, *unleſs it ſhould happen to our minds when they look into themſelves, as it does to our eyes, when they look too*

[*r*] Ib. x. [*s*] Ib. 27.

too intenſely at the ſun, that finding their ſight dazzled, they give over looking at all [*t*]. In this opinion he followed Socrates and Plato, for whoſe judgment he profeſſes ſo great a reverence, that *if they had given no reaſons, where yet they had given many, he ſhould have been perſuaded*, he ſays, *by their ſole authority* [*u*]. Socrates therefore, as he tells us, declared in his dying ſpeech, " that there were two ways ap-
" pointed to human ſouls at their departure
" from the body: that thoſe who had been im-
" merſed in ſenſual pleaſures and luſts, and had
" polluted themſelves with private vices or
" public crimes againſt their country, took an
" obſcure and devious road, remote from the
" ſeat and aſſembly of the Gods; whilſt thoſe
" who had preſerved their integrity, and re-
" ceived little or no contagion from the body,
" from which they had conſtantly abſtracted
" themſelves, and in the bodies of men imita-
" ted the life of the Gods, had an eaſy aſcent
" lying open before them to thoſe Gods, from
" whom they derived their being [*x*]."

FROM what has already been ſaid, the reader will eaſily imagine what Cicero's opinion muſt have been concerning *the Religion of his country:* for a mind enlightened by the noble principles juſt ſtated, could not poſſibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of ſo abſurd a worſhip: and the liberty, which not onely he, but all the old writers take, in ridiculing the characters of their

[*t*] Nec vero de hoc quiſquam dubitare poſſet, niſi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod his ſæpe uſu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem ſolem intuerentur, ut aſpectum omnino amitterent, &c. Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 30.

[*u*] Ibid. 21. de Amicit. 4.

[*x*] Ibid. 30.

their Gods, and the fictions of their *infernal torments* [y], shews, that there was not a man of liberal education, who did not consider it as an engine of state or political system; contrived for the uses of government, and to keep the people in order: in this light, Cicero always commends it, as a wise institution, singularly adapted to the genius of *Rome*; and constantly inculcates *an adherence to its rites*, as the duty of all good Citizens [z].

THEIR

[y] Dic, quæso, num te illa terrent? triceps apud inferos Cerberus? Cocyti fremitus? transvectio Acherontis? — adeone me delirare censes ut ista credam?— [ib. 1. 5, 6, 21.] Quæ anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimescat? De Nat. Deor. 2. 2.

[z] Ordiar ab Haruspicina, quam ego Reipub. causa, communisque religionis, colendam censeo. De Divin. 2. 12. Nam & majorum instituta tueri sacris cæremoniisque retinendis sapientis est. Ib. 72. De Leg. 2. 12. 13.—

N. B. There is a reflection in Polybius, exactly conformable to Cicero's sentiments on his subject. *The greatest Advantage*, says he, *which the Roman Government seems to have over other states, is in the opinion publickly entertained by them about the Gods; and that very thing which is so generally decried by other mortals, sustained the Republic of Rome; I mean, Superstition. For this was carried by them to such a height, and introduced so effectually both into the private lives of the Citizens, and the public affairs of the City, that one cannot help being surprized at it. But I take it all to have been contrived for the sake of the populace. For if a society could be formed of wise men only, such a scheme would not be necessary: but since the multitude is always giddy, and agitated by illicit desires, wild resentments, violent passions; there was no way left of restraining them, but by the help of such secret terrors and tragical fictions. It was not therefore without great prudence and foresight, that the ancients took care to instill into them these notions of the Gods and infernal punishments, which the moderns, on the other hand, are now rashly and absurdly endeavouring to extirpate.* Polyb. l. 6. p. 497.

THEIR Religion conſiſted of two principal branches; *the obſervation of the Auſpices, and the worſhip of the Gods:* the firſt was inſtituted by Romulus; the ſecond by his ſucceſſor, Numa; who drew up a ritual, or order of ceremonies to be obſerved in the different ſacrifices of their ſeveral Deities: to theſe a third part was afterwards added; relating to *divine admonitions* from *portents*; *monſtrous births*; *the entrails of beaſts in ſacrifice*; *and the prophecies of the Sybils* [*a*]. *The College of Augurs* preſided over *the Auſpices*, as *the ſupreme interpreters of the will of Jove*; and determined what ſigns were propitious, and what not: *the other Prieſts* were the Judges of all the other caſes relating to Religion; as well of what concerned the public worſhip, as that of private families [*b*].

Now the Prieſts of all denominations were of the firſt nobility of *Rome*; and the Augurs eſpecially were commonly Senators of Conſular rank, who had paſſed thro' all the dignities of the Republic, and by their power over *the Auſpices*, could put an immediate ſtop to all proceedings, and diſſolve at once all the aſſemblies of the people convened for public buſineſs. The interpretation of *the Sybyl's Prophecies* was veſted in the *Decemviri*, or guardians of *the Sybilline books*; ten perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank choſen uſually

[*a*] Cum omnis Populi Romani religio in ſacra & in Auſpicia diviſa ſit, tertium adjunctum ſit, ſi quid prædictionis cauſa ex portentis & monſtris Sibyllæ interpretes, Haruſpiceſve monuerunt. De Nat. Deor. 3. 2.

[*b*] — Cur Sacris Pontifices, cur auſpiciis Augeres præſunt? [ib. 1. 44.] Eſt autem boni Auguris, meminiſſe maximis Reipub. temporibus præſto eſſe debere Jovique optimo maximo ſe conſiliarium atque adminiſtrum datum —— de Leg. 3. 19.

uſually from the Prieſts: and the Province of interpreting prodigies, and inſpecting the entrails, belonged to *the Haruſpices*; who were the ſervants of the public, hired to attend the Magiſtrates in all their ſacrifices; and who never failed to accommodate their anſwers to the views of thoſe who employed them, and to whoſe protection they owed their credit and their livelyhood.

THIS conſtitution of a religion among a people naturally ſuperſtitious, neceſſarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the Senate, and the better ſort; who by this advantage frequently check'd the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the Tribuns [c]: ſo that it is perpetually applauded by Cicero, as the main bulwark of the Republic; tho' conſidered all the while by men of ſenſe, as merely political, and of human invention. The onely part that admitted any diſpute concerning its origin, was *Augury*, or their method of divining by *Auſpices*. The Stoics held, that God, out of his goodneſs to man, had imprinted on the nature of things *certain marks or notices of future events*; as on *the entrails of beaſts*, *the flight of birds*, *thunder*, *and other celeſtial ſigns*, which, by long obſervation, and the experience of ages, were reduced to an art, by which the meaning of each ſign might be determined, and applied to the event that was ſignified by it. This they called *artificial Divination*, in diſtinction from *the natural*; which they ſuppoſed to flow

[c] Omnibus Magiſtratibus auſpicia — dantur, ut multos inutiles comitiatus, probabiles impedirent motæ: ſæpe enim populi impetum injuſtum auſpiciis Dii immortales repreſſerunt. De Leg. 3. 12.

flow from an *inſtinct or native power*, implanted in the ſoul, which it exerted always with the greateſt efficacy, when it was the moſt free and diſengaged from the body, as *in dreams and madneſs* [*d*]. But this notice was generally ridiculed by the other Philoſophers; and of all the College of Augurs, there was but one at this time who maintained it, Appius Claudius; who was laugh'd at for his pains by the reſt, and called the *Piſidian* [*e*]: it occaſioned however a ſmart controverſy between him and his Collegue Marcellus, who ſeverally publiſhed books on each ſide of the queſtion; wherein Marcellus aſſerted the whole affair *to be the contrivance of Stateſmen*; Appius on the contrary, *that there was a real art and power of divining, ſubſiſting in the Augural diſcipline, and taught by the Augural books* [*f*]. Appius dedicated this treatiſe to Cicero [*g*]: who, tho' he preferred Marcellus's notion, yet did not wholly agree with either, but believed, *that Augury might probably be inſtituted at firſt upon a perſuaſion of its divinity*;

[*d*] Duo ſunt enim divinandi genera, quorum alterum artis eſt, alterum naturæ —eſt enim vis & natura quædam, quæ cum obſervatis longo tempore ſignificationibus, tum aliquo inſtinctu, inflatuque divina futura prænunciat.—De Div. 1. 6. Vid. it. ib. 18.

[*e*] Quem irridebant Collegæ tui, eumque tum Piſidam, tum Soranum Augurum eſſe dicebant. ib. 47

THE *Piſidians* were a barbarous people of the leſſer *Aſia*; famous for their ſuperſtitious obſervation *of the Auſpices*, or the divination *by the flight of birds*. De Divin. 1. 41, 42.

[*f*] Sed eſt in collegio veſtro inter Marcellum & Appium, optimos Augures, magna diſſenſio: —cum alteri placeat, auſpicia iſta ad utilitatem Reipub. compoſita; alteri diſciplina veſtra quaſi divinare prorſus poſſe videatur. De Leg. 2. 13.

[*g*] Illo libro Augurali, quem ad me amantiſſime ſcriptum, ſuavi ſſimum miſiſti. Ep. fam. 3. 4.

nity; *and when, by the improvement of arts and learning, that opinion was exploded in ſucceeding ages, yet the thing itſelf was wiſely retained for the ſake of its uſe to the Republic* [*b*].

But whatever was the origin of the Religion of *Rome*, Cicero's Religion was undoubtedly of *heavenly extraction*; built, as we have ſeen, on the foundation *of a God*; *a Providence*; *an immortality*. He conſidered this ſhort period of our life on earth as a ſtate of trial, or a kind of ſchool; in which we were to improve and prepare ourſelves for that eternity of exiſtence, which was provided for us hereafter; that we were placed therefore here by the Creator, not ſo much *to inhabit the earth, as to contemplate the heavens*; on which were imprinted in legible characters all the duties of that nature, which was given to us. He obſerved, *that this ſpectacle belonged to no other Animal but man*; to whom, God, for that reaſon, had given *an erect and upright form*; *with eyes not prone or fixed upon the ground*, like thoſe of other animals, but placed *on high and ſublime*, in a ſituation the moſt proper for *this celeſtial contemplation*; to remind him perpetually of his taſk, and to acquaint him with the place from which he ſprung, and for which he was finally deſigned [*i*]. He took the

[*b*] Non enim ſumus ii nos Augures, qui avium, reliquorumque ſignorum obſervatione futura dicamus: et tamen credo Romulum, qui urbem auſpicato condidit, habuiſſe opinionem, eſſe in providendis rebus augurandi ſcientiam. Errabat multis in rebus Antiquitas, &c. De Divin. 2. 33.

[*i*] Sed credo Deos ſparſiſſe animos in corpora humana, ut eſſent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœleſtium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitæ modo & conſtantia, &c. [Cato 21] Nam cum cæteras animantes adjeciſſet ad paſtum, ſolum hominem erexit, ad cœlique quaſi

the ſyſtem of the world, or the viſible works of God, to be *the Promulgation of God's law*, or the declaration of his will to mankind; whence, as we might collect his Being, nature, and attributes, ſo we could trace the reaſons alſo and motives of his acting; *till by obſerving what he had done, we might learn what we ought to do, and, by the operations of the divine reaſon, be inſtructed how to perfect our own*; ſince the perfection of man conſiſted in the imitation of God.

FROM this ſource he deduced the origin of all duty, or moral obligation; from *the will of God, manifeſted in his works*; or from that *eternal reaſon, fitneſs, and relation of things*, which is diſplayed in every part of the creation. This he calls the *original, immutable law*; *the criterion of good and ill*; *of juſt and unjuſt*; imprinted on the nature of things, as the rule by which all human laws are to be formed; which, whenever they deviate from this pattern, ought, he ſays, to be called any thing rather than *laws*; and are in effect nothing but *acts of force, violence and tyranny*: that to imagine *the diſtinction of good and ill not to be founded in nature, but in cuſtom, opinion, or human inſtitution, is mere folly and madneſs*; which would overthrow all ſociety, and confound all right and juſtice amongſt men [*k*]: that this was the conſtant opinion

quaſi cognationis, domicilii-que priſtini conſpectum excitavit. [de Leg. 1. 9.] Ipſe autem homo ortus eſt ad mundum contemplandum & imitandum, nullo modo perfectus, ſed eſt quædam particula perfecti. Nat. Deor. 2. 14, 56.

[*k*] Sed etiam modeſtiam quandam cognitio rerum cœleſtium adfert iis, qui viderant, quanta ſit etiam apud Deos moderatio, quantus ordo; & magnitudinem animi, Deorum opera & facta cernentibus; juſtitiam etiam, cum cognitium habeas, quid

opinion of the wiſeſt of all ages; who held, *that the mind of God governing all things by eternal reaſon, was the principal and ſoverein law; whoſe ſubſtitute on earth was the reaſon or mind of the wiſe:* to which purpoſe there are many ſtrong and beautiful paſſages ſcattered occaſionally thro' every part of his works [*l*].

"THE true law, ſays he, is right reaſon, "conformable to the nature of things; con- "ſtant, eternal, diffuſed thro' all; which calls "us to duty by commanding, deters us from "ſin by forbidding; which never loſes its in- "fluence with the good; nor ever preſerves it "with the wicked. This cannot poſſibly be "over-ruled by any other law; nor abrogated "in the whole or in part: nor can we be ab- "ſolved from it either by the Senate or the peo- "ple: nor are we to ſeek any other comment

ſit ſummi Rectoris & Domini numen, quod conſilium, quæ voluntas; cujus ad naturam apta ratio vera illa & ſumma lex a Philoſophis dicitur. — De Fin. 4. 5.

Nos legem bonam a mala, nulla alia niſi naturæ norma dividere poſſumus. Nec ſolum jus & injuria natura dijudicantur, ſed omnino omnia honeſta ac turpia; nam & communis intelligentia nobis notas res efficit, eaſque in animis noſtris inchoat, ut honeſta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. Ea autem in opinione exiſtimare, non in natura poſita, dementis eſt. [De Leg. 1. 16.] Erat enim ratio profecta a rerum natura; & ad recte faciendum impellens, & a delicto avocans; quæ non tum demum incipit lex eſſe, cum ſcripta eſt, ſed tum, cum orta eſt: orta autem ſimul eſt cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera, atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, recta eſt ratio ſummi Jovis, &c. De Leg. 2. 4, 5, &c.

[*l*] Hanc igitur video ſapientiſſimorum fuiſſe ſententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec Scitum aliquod eſſe populorum, ſed æternum quiddam, quod univerſum mundum regeret, imperandi, prohibendique ſapientia, &c. ib. &c.

" or interpreter of it, but itſelf: nor can there " be one law at *Rome*, another at *Athens*; one " now, another hereafter; but the ſame eter- " nal immutable law, comprehends all nations, " at all times, under one common Maſter and " Governor of all, God. He is the inventor, " propounder, enactor of this law: and who- " ſoever will not obey it, muſt firſt renounce " himſelf, and throw off the nature of man: by " doing which, he will ſuffer the greateſt pu- " niſhment, tho' he ſhould eſcape all the other " torments, which are commonly believed to " be prepared for the wicked [*m*]."

In another place he tells us, that the ſtudy of this law was the onely thing which could teach us that moſt important of all leſſons, ſaid to be preſcribed by *the Pythian Oracle*, *to know ourſelves*; that is, to know our true nature and rank in the univerſal ſyſtem; the relation that we bear to all other things; and the purpoſes for which we were ſent into the world. " When " a man, ſays he, has attentively ſurveyed the " heavens, the earth, the ſea, and all things in " them; obſerved whence they ſprung, and " whither they all tend; when and how they " are to end; what part is mortal and periſh- " able, what divine and eternal: when he has " almoſt reached and touch'd, as it were, the " governor and ruler of them all, and diſco- " vered himſelf not to be confined to the walls " of any certain place, but a citizen of the " world, as of one common City; in this mag- " nificent view of things; in this enlarged pro- " ſpect and knowledge of nature; good Gods, " how will he learn *to know himſelf?* How will " he

[*m*] Fragment. lib. 3. de Repub. ex Lactantio.

" he contemn, deſpiſe, and ſet at nought all " thoſe things, which the vulgar eſteem the " moſt ſplendid and glorious [*n*] ?"

THESE were the principles on which Cicero built his religion and morality, which ſhine indeed thro' all his writings, but were largely and explicitly illuſtrated by him in his treatiſes on Government, and on Laws; to which he added afterwards his book of Offices, to make the ſcheme complete: Volumes, which, as the *elder* Pliny ſays to the Emperor Titus, ought not onely *to be read, but to be got by heart* [*o*]. The firſt and greateſt of theſe works is loſt, excepting a few fragments, in which he had delivered his real thoughts ſo profeſſedly, that in a Letter to Atticus, he calls *thoſe ſix books on the Republic, ſo many pledges given to his country*, for the integrity of his life; from which, if ever he ſwerved he could never have the face *to look into them again* [*p*]. In his *book of laws*, he purſued the ſame argument, and deduced the origin of law from *the will of the ſupreme God*. Theſe two pieces therefore contain his belief, and *the book of Offices his practice:* where he has traced out all the duties of man, or a rule of life conformable to the divine principles, which he had eſtabliſhed in the other two; to which he often refers, as to the foundation of his whole ſyſtem [*q*]. This work was one of the laſt that he finiſhed, for the uſe of his ſon, to whom he

[*n*] De Legib. 1. 23.

[*o*] Quæ volumina ejus ediſcenda non modo in manibus habenda quotidie, noſti. Præf. ad Hiſt. Nat.

[*p*] Præſertim cum ſex libris, tanquam predibus, me ipſum obſtrinxerim; quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. [ad Att. 6. 1.] Ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas, ſi tale quid fecero? ibid. 2.

[*q*] Offic. 3. 5, 6, 17.

addreſſed it; being deſirous, in the decline of a glorious life, to explain to him the maxims by which he had governed it; and teach him the way of paſſing thro' the world with innocence, virtue, and true glory, to an immortality of happineſs: where the ſtrictneſs of his morals, adapted to all the various caſes and circumſtances of human life, will ſerve, if not to inſtruct, yet to reproach the practiſe of moſt Chriſtians. This was that law, which is mentioned by St. *Paul*, to be taught *by nature, and written on the hearts of the Gentiles*, to guide them thro' that ſtate of ignorance and darkneſs, of which they themſelves complained, till they ſhould be bleſſed with a more perfect revelation of the divine will: and this ſcheme of it profeſſed by Cicero, was certainly the moſt complete that the *Gentile* world had ever been acquainted with; the utmoſt effort that human nature could make towards attaining its proper end; or that ſupreme good for which the Creator had deſigned it: upon the contemplation of which ſublime truths, as delivered by a Heathen, Eraſmus could not help perſuading himſelf, *that the breaſt from which they flowed muſt needs have been inſpired by the Deity* [r].

BUT after all theſe glorious ſentiments that we have been aſcribing to Cicero, and collecting from his writings, ſome have been apt to conſider them as the floriſhes rather of his eloquence, than the concluſions of his reaſon; ſince in

[r] Quid aliis accidat neſcio; me legentem ſic afficere ſolet M. Tullius, præſertim ubi de bene vivendo diſſerit, ut dubitare non poſſim, quin illud pectus, unde iſta prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Eraſm. Ep. ad Joh. Ulattenum.

in other parts of his works he ſeems to intimate not only a diffidence, but a diſbelief *of the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*; and eſpecially in his Letters, where he is ſuppoſed to declare his mind with the greateſt frankneſs [*s*]. But in all the paſſages brought to ſupport this objection, where he is imagined to ſpeak of *death as the end of all things to man*, as they are addreſſed to friends in diſtreſs by way of conſolation, ſo ſome Commentators take them to mean nothing more, than that death *is the end of all things here below*,

[*s*] Sæpiſſime & legi & audivi, nihil mali eſſe in morte; in qua ſi reſideat ſenſus, immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda eſt: ſin ſit amiſſus, nulla videri miſeria debeat, quæ non ſentiatur. [Ep. fam. 5. 16.] Ut hoc ſaltem in maximis malis boni conſequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum ſenſum eſſet habitura, nunc ſic affecti, non modo contemnere debeamus, ſed etiam optare. [Ib. 21.] Sed hæc conſolatio levis; illa gravior, qua te uti ſpero, ego certe utor: nec enim dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa; et ſi non ero, ſenſu omnino carebo. [ib. 6. 3.] Deinde—ſi jam vocer ad exitum vitæ non ab ea Rep. avellar, qua carendum eſſe doleam, præſertim cum id ſine ullo ſenſu futurum ſit. [ib. 4.] Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate, præſertim cum omnium rerum mors ſit extremum. [ib. 21.] Sed de illa—fors viderit, aut ſi quis eſt, qui curet Deus. Ad Att. 4. x.

N. B. By this illuſtration of Cicero's moral principles we learn the force of that rule, which he frequently preſcribes, of *following Nature, as the ſure and unerring guide of Life.* [De Legib. 1. 6. de Senect. 2. de Amic. 5.] by which he means that law or will of God, diſplayed in the nature of things; not, as ſome are apt to interpret him, the dictates of our unruly paſſions, which are falſely called natural; being the motions onely of vitiated appetites, and the creatures of habit not of nature; the gratification of which, as he tells us, *is more contrary to nature*, and conſequently more to be avoided, than *poverty, pain, or even death itſelf.* [Offic. 3. 5, 6.]

and without any farther ſenſe of what is done upon earth: yet ſhould they be underſtood to relate, as perhaps they may, *to an utter extinction of our being*; it muſt be obſerved, that he was writing in all probability to *Epicureans* [*t*], and accommodating his arguments to the men; by offering ſuch topics of comfort to them from their own philoſophy, as they themſelves held to be the moſt effectual. But if this alſo ſhould ſeem precarious, we muſt remember always, *that Cicero was an Academic*; and tho' he believed *a future ſtate*, was fond of the opinion, and declares himſelf reſolved *never to part with it*; yet he believed it as *probable* onely, not as *certain* [*u*]: and as probability implies ſome mixture of doubt, and admits the degrees of more and leſs, ſo it admits alſo ſome variety in the ſtability of our perſuaſion: thus in a melancholy hour, when his ſpirits were depreſſed, the ſame argument would not appear to him with the ſame force; but doubts and difficulties get the aſcendant, and what humoured his preſent chagrin, find the readieſt admiſſion. The paſſages alledged were all of this kind, written in the ſeaſon

[*t*] THIS will appear to be a very probable ſuppoſition, when we recollect, that the generality of the *Roman* Nobility, and of Cicero's friends were of the *Epicurean ſect*; and particularly the family of Torquatus, to whom two of theſe very letters are addreſſed. — Accurate quondam a L. Torquato, homine omni doctrina erudito, defenſa eſt Epicuri ſententia de voluptate, a meque ei reſponſum. De Fin. 1. 5.

[*u*] Quod ſi in hoc erro, quod animos hominum immortales eſſe credam, lubenter erro. Nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. Cato. 23. Geram tibi morem, & ea, quæ vis, ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen quaſi Pythius Apollo, certa ut ſint & fixa quæ dixero: ſed ut homunculus unus e multis, probabilia conjectura ſequens. Tuſ. Quæſt. 1. 9.

ſeaſon of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, in the heighth of Cæſar's power; and tho' we allow them to have all the force that they can poſſibly bear, and to expreſs what Cicero really meant at that time, yet they prove at laſt nothing more, than that, agreeably to the character and principles of *the Academy*, he ſometimes doubted of what he generally believed. But after all, whatever be the ſenſe of them, it cannot ſurely be thought reaſonable to oppoſe a few ſcattered hints, accidentally thrown out, when he was not conſidering the ſubject, to the volumes that he had deliberately written on the other ſide of the queſtion [x].

As to his political conduct, no man was ever a more determined patriot, or a warmer lover

[x] FROM this general view of Cicero's *religion*, one cannot help obſerving, that the moſt exalted ſtate of human reaſon is ſo far from ſuperſeding the uſe, that it demonſtrates the benefit of a *more explicit revelation:* for though the *natural law*, in the perfection, to which it was carried by Cicero, might ſerve for a ſufficient guide to the few, ſuch as himſelf, of enlarged minds and happy diſpoſitions, yet it had been ſo long depraved and adulterated by the prevailing errors and vices of mankind, that it was not diſcoverable even to thoſe few, without great pains and ſtudy; and could not produce in them at laſt any thing more than a hope, never a full perſuaſion; whilſt the greateſt part of mankind, even of the virtuous and inquiſitive, lived *without the knowledge of a God, or the expectation of a futurity*; and the multitude in every country was left to the groſs idolatry of the popular worſhip. When we reflect on all this we muſt needs ſee abundant reaſon to be thankful to God, *for the divine light of his Goſpel:* which *has revealed at laſt to babes, what was hidden from the wiſe*; and without the pains of ſearching, or danger of miſtaking, has given us not onely the hope, but the aſſurance of happineſs; and made us not onely the believers, but *the heirs of immortality*.

of his country, than he: his whole character, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made its true intereſt inſeparable from his own. His general view therefore was always one and the ſame; to ſupport the peace and liberty of the Republic in that form and conſtitution of it, which their anceſtors had delivered down to them [*y*]. He look'd upon that as the onely foundation on which it could be ſupported; and uſed to quote a verſe of old Ennius, as the dictate of an Oracle, which derived all the glory of *Rome* from an adherence to its ancient manners and diſcipline,

Moribus antiquis ſtat Res Romana viriſque [*z*].

It is one of his maxims, which he inculcates in his writings, *that as the end of a Pilot is a proſperous voyage; of a Phyſician, the health of his patient; of a General, victory; ſo that of a ſtateſman is, to make his Citizens happy; to make them firm in power, rich in wealth, ſplendid in glory, eminent in virtue: which he declares to be the greateſt and beſt of all works among men* [*a*]: and as this cannot be effected, but *by the concord and harmony* of the conſtituent members of a City [*b*]; ſo it was his conſtant aim to unite the

[*y*] Sic tibi, mi Pæte, perſuade, me dies & noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, niſi ut mei cives ſalvis liberique ſint. Ep. fam. 1. 24.

[*z*] Quem quidem ille verſum vel brevitate vel veritate, tanquam ex Oraculo mihi quodam effatus videtur, &c. vid. Fragm. de Repub. l. 5.

[*a*] Ut gubernatori curſus ſecundus—ſic huic moderatori Reip. beata civium vita propoſita eſt, &c. vid. ibid.—

[*b*] Quæ harmonia a Muſicis dicitur in cantu, ea eſt in civitate concordia, arctiſſimum atque optimum omni in Repub. vinculum incolumitatis, &c. ibid. l. 2.

the different orders of the ſtate into one common intereſt, and to inſpire them with a mutual confidence in each other; ſo as to balance the ſupremacy of the people, by the authority of the Senate; that the one *ſhould enact*, but the other *adviſe*; the one have *the laſt reſort*, the other *the chief influence* [c]. This was the old conſtitution of *Rome*, by which it had raiſed itſelf to all it's grandeur; whilſt all it's misfortunes were owing to the contrary principle, of diſtruſt and diſſenſion between theſe two rival powers: it was the great object therefore of his policy, to throw *the aſcendant in all affairs into the hands of the Senate and the Magiſtrates*, as far as it was conſiſtent with the rights and liberties of the people: which will always be the general view of the wiſe and honeſt in all popular governments.

THIS was the principle, which he eſpouſed from the beginning, and purſued to the end of his life: and though in ſome paſſages of his hiſtory, he may perhaps be thought to have deviated from it, yet upon an impartial review of the caſe, we ſhall find, that his end was always the ſame, though he had changed his meaſures of purſuing it; when compell'd to it by the violence of the times, and an over-ruling force, and a neceſſary regard to his own ſafety: ſo that he might ſay with great truth what an *Athenian Orator* once ſaid, in excuſe of his inconſtancy; *that he had acted indeed on ſome occaſions contrary to*

[c] Nam — ſi ſenatus dominus ſit publici conſilii — poſſit, ex temperatione juris, cum poteſtas in populo, auctoritas in Senatu ſit, teneri ille moderatus & concors civitatis ſtatus. De Leg. 3. 12. it. ib. 17.

to himself, but never to the republic [*d*]: and here also his *Academic philosophy* seems to have shewed it's superior use in practical, as well as in speculative life; by indulging that liberty of acting, which nature and reason require; and when the times and things themselves are changed, allowing a change of conduct, and a recourse to new means, for the attainment of the same end.

THE *three sects*, which at this time chiefly engrossed the philosophical part of *Rome*, were *the Stoic*, *the Epicurean*, *and the Academic*; and the chief ornaments of each were, Cato, Atticus and Cicero; who lived together in strict friendship, and a mutual esteem of each other's virtue: but the different behaviour of *these three*, will shew by fact and example, the different merit of their several principles, and which of them was the best adapted to promote the good of society.

THE Stoics were *the bigots or enthusiasts* in philosophy; who held none to be truly wise or good but themselves; placed *perfect happiness in virtue*, *though stript of every other good*; affirmed *all sins to be equal*; *all deviations from right equally wicked*; *to kill a dunghill cock without reason*, *the same crime as to kill a parent*; that a wise man could never *forgive*; *never be moved by anger*, *favor*, *or pity*; *never be deceived*; *never repent*; *never change his mind* [*e*]. With these principles

[*d*] Plut. de Damade, in vit. Demost. p. 851. Edit. Par.

[*e*] Sapientem gratia nunquam moveri, nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere: neminem misericordem esse, nisi stultus; viri non esse, neque ex orari, neque placari; omnia peccata esse paria —nec

principles Cato entered into public life; and acted in it, as Cicero says, as if he had lived *in the polity of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus* [*f*]. He made no distinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakness of the Republic, and the power of those who oppressed it: it was his maxim, to combat all power, not built upon the laws; or to defy it at least, if he could not controul it: he knew no way to his end, but the direct; and whatever obstructions he met with, resolved still to rush on; and either to surmount them, or perish in the attempt; taking it for a baseness and confession of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age therefore of the utmost libertinism, when the public discipline was lost, and the government itself tottering, he struggled with the same zeal against all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a superior force; whilst the rigor of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and by provoking the power, that he could not subdue, helped to hasten that ruin, which he was striving to avert [*g*]: so that after a perpetual course of disappointments and repulses, finding himself unable to pursue his old way any farther, instead of taking a new one, he was driven by his Philosophy to put an end to his life.

But

—nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit: sapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei pœnitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare nunquam. Pro. Muræn. 29.

[*f*] Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tanquam in Romuli fæce, sententiam. Ad Att. 2. 1. p. 178.

[*g*] Pompeium & Cæsarem, quorum nemo alterum offendere audebat, nisi ut alterum demereretur, [Cato] simul provocavit. Sen. Ep. 14.

BUT as the Stoics exalted human nature too high, ſo the Epicureans depreſſed it too low; as thoſe raiſed it to the Heroic, theſe debaſed it to the brutal ſtate: they held *pleaſure to be the chief good of man*; *death the extinction of his being*; and placed their happineſs conſequently in the ſecure enjoyment of a pleaſureable life: eſteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleaſure; and helped to enſure the poſſeſſion of it, by preſerving health and conciliating friends. Their wiſe man therefore had no other duty, but to provide for his own eaſe; to decline all ſtruggles; to retire from public affairs; and to imitate *the life of their Gods*; by paſſing his days in a calm, contemplative, undiſturbed repoſe, in the midſt of rural ſhades and pleaſant gardens. This was the ſcheme, that Atticus followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be uſeful to ſociety; great parts, learning, judgment, candor, benevolence, generoſity; *the ſame love of his country, and the ſame ſentiments in politics with Cicero* [*b*]; whom he was always adviſing and urging to act, yet determined never to act himſelf; or never at leaſt ſo far, as to diſturb his eaſe, or endanger his ſafety. For though he was ſo ſtrictly united with Cicero, and valued him above all men, yet he managed an intereſt all the while with the oppoſite faction, and a friendſhip even with his mortal enemies, Clodius and Antony; that he might ſecure againſt all events the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquility of his life.

Thus

[*b*] In repub. ita eſt verſatus ut ſemper optimarum partium & eſſet, & exiſtimaretur; neque tamen ſe civilibus fluctibus committeret — Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 6.

Thus two excellent men, by their miſtaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philoſophy; were made uſeleſs in a manner to their country; each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and expoſing himſelf to dangers, without the proſpect of doing good; the other, without attempting to do any, reſolving never to act at all.

CICERO choſe the middle way between the obſtinacy of Cato, and the indolence of Atticus: he preferred always the readieſt road to what was right, if it lay open to him; if not, took the next, that ſeemed likely to bring him to the ſame end; and in politics, as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himſelf with the probable. He oft compares *the Stateſman to the Pilot*; whoſe art conſiſts, in *managing every turn of the winds*, and applying even the moſt perverſe to the progreſs of his voyage; ſo as *by changing his courſe, and enlarging his circuit of ſailing, to arrive with ſafety, though later, at his deſtined port* [*i*]. He mentions likewiſe an obſervation, which long experience had confirmed to him, that *none of the popular and ambitious, who aſpired to extraordinary commands, and to be leaders in the Republic, ever choſe to obtain their ends from the people, till they had firſt been repulſed by the Senate* [*k*]. This was

[*i*] Nunquam enim præſtantibus in Repub. gubernanda viris laudata eſt in una ſententia perpetua permanſio: ſed ut in navigando tempeſtati obſequi artis eſt, etiamſi portum tenere non queas; cum vero id poſſis mutata velificatione aſſequi, ſtultum eſt eum tenere curſum cum periculo quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire, &c. Ep. fam. 1. 9.

[*k*] Neminem unquam eſt hic ordo amplexus honoribus & beneficiis ſuis, qui ullam dignitatem præſtabiliorem ea, quam per vos eſſet adeptus,

was verified by all their civil diſſenſions, from the *Gracchi*, down to Cæſar: ſo that when he ſaw men of this ſpirit at the head of the government; who, by the ſplendor of their lives and actions, had acquired an aſcendant over the populace; it was his conſtant advice to the Senate, to gain them by gentle compliances, and to gratify their thirſt of power by voluntary grants of it, as the beſt way to moderate their ambition; and reclame them from deſperate counſils. He declared *contention to be no longer prudent, than while it either did ſervice or at leaſt no hurt*; but when faction was grown too ſtrong to be withſtood, that it was time to give over fighting; and nothing left but *to extract ſome good out of the ill*, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce by force, and conciliating it, if poſſible, to the intereſts of the ſtate [*l*]. This was what he adviſed, and what he practiſed: and it will account in a great meaſure for thoſe parts of his conduct, which are the moſt liable to exception, on the account of that complaiſance, which he is ſuppoſed to have paid at different times to the ſeveral uſurpers of illegal power.

He made a juſt diſtinction, between *hearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn* [*m*]; and ſubmitted therefore, yet

tus, putarit. Nemo unquam huic potuit eſſe princeps, qui maluerit eſſe popularis. De Provin. Conſular. 16. it. Phil. 5. 18.

[*l*] Sed contentio tamdiu ſapiens eſt, quamdiu aut proficit aliquid, aut ſi non proficit, non obeſt civitati: voluimus quædam, contendimus, experti ſumus, non obtenta ſunt. Pro Corn. Balbo. 27.

Sic ab hominibus doctis accepimus, non ſolum ex malis eligere minima oportere; ſed etiam excerpere ex his ipſis ſi quid ineſſet boni. De Off. 1. 1.

[*m*] Non enim eſt idem, ferre ſi quid ferendum eſt, & probare ſi quid probandum non eſt. Ep. fam. 9. 6.

yet never consented to those usurpations; and when he was forced to comply with them, did it always with a reluctance, that he expresses very keenly in his letters to his friends. But whenever that force was removed, and he was at liberty to pursue his principles, and act without controul, as in his *Consulship*, in his *Province*, and after Cæsar's *death*; the only periods of his life, in which he was truly Master of himself; there we see him shining out in his genuin character, of an excellent Citizen; a great Magistrate; a glorious Patriot: there we see the man, who could declare of himself with truth, in an appeal to Atticus, as to the best witness of his conscience, *that he had always done the greatest services to his country, when it was in his power; or when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it, but what was divine* [*m*]. If we must needs compare him therefore with Cato, as some writers affect to do; it is certain, that if Cato's virtue seem more splendid in theory, Cicero's will be found superior in practice: the one was romantic, the other rational; the one drawn from the refinements of the schools, the other from nature and social life; the one always unsuccessful, often hurtful; the other always beneficial, often salutary to the Republic.

To conclude; Cicero's death, though violent, cannot be called untimely; but was the proper end of such a life; which must have been rendered less glorious, if it had owed its preservation to Antony. It was therefore what he not onely expected, but in the circumstances, to

[*m*] Præclara igitur conscientia sustentor, cum cogito me de Repub. aut meruisse optime cum potuerim; aut certe nunquam nisi divine cogitasse. Ad Att. x. 4.

to which he was reduced, what he ſeems even to have wiſhed [*n*]. For he, who before had been *timid in dangers, and deſponding in diſtreſs*, yet from the time of Cæſar's death, rouſed *by the deſperate ſtate of the Republic* [*o*], aſſumed the fortitude of a Hero: diſcarded all fear; deſpiſed all danger; and when he could not free his country from a Tyranny, provoked the Tyrants to take that life, which he no longer cared to preſerve. Thus like a great Actor on the ſtage, he reſerved himſelf as it were for the laſt act; and after he had played his part with dignity, reſolved to finiſh it with glory.

THE character of his ſon Marcus has been delivered down to us in a very diſadvantageous light: for he is repreſented generally, both by the Ancients and Moderns, as ſtupid and vicious, and a proverb even of degeneracy [*p*]: yet when we come to inquire into the real ſtate of the fact, we ſhall find but little ground for ſo ſcandalous a tradition.

IN his early youth, while he continued under the eye and diſcipline of his Father, he gave all imaginable proofs both of an excellent temper and genius; was modeſt, tractable, dutiful; diligent in his ſtudies, and expert in his exerciſes; ſo that in the *Pharſalic* war, at the age of

[*n*] Nullum locum prætermitto monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique animo ſum, ut ſi in hac cura atque adminiſtratione, vita mihi ponenda ſit, præclare actum mecum putem. Ep. fam. 9. 24.

[*o*] Sed plane animus, qui dubiis rebus forſitan fuerit infirmior, deſperatis, confirmatus eſt multum. Ep. fam. 5. 21.

[*p*] CICERONEM filium quæ res Conſulem fecit, niſi pater? Senec. de Benef. 4. 30. *Nam virtutes omnes aberant; Stultor & vitia aderant. Lipſii Not. ad locum.*

of seventeen, he acquired a great reputation in Pompey's camp, by his dexterity *of riding, throwing the javelin, and all the other accomplishments of a young soldier* [q]. Not long after Pompey's death he was sent to *Athens*, to spend a few years in the study of Philosophy and polite letters, under Cratippus, the most celebrated Philosopher of that time; for whom Cicero afterwards procured *the freedom of Rome* [r]. Here indeed, upon his first sally into the world, he was guilty of some irregularity of conduct, and extravagance of expence, that made his Father uneasy; into which he was supposed to have been drawn by Gorgias, *his Master of Rhetoric*; a lover of wine and pleasure; whom Cicero for that reason expostulated with severely by letter, and discharged from his attendance upon him. But the young man was soon made sensible of his folly, and recalled to his duty by the remonstrances of his friends, and particularly of Atticus: so that his Father readily paid his debts, and enlarged his Allowance, which seems to have been about seven hundred pounds *per annum* [s].

From this time, all the accounts of him from the principal men of the place, as well as his Roman friends, who had occasion to visit *Athens*, are constant and uniform in their praises of him; and in terms so particular and explicit,

[q] Quo in bello cum te, Pompeius alæ alteri præfeciſſet, magnam laudem & a ſummo viro, & ab exercitu conſequebare, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando.— Offic. 2. 13.

[r] Plutar. in vit. Cicer.

[s]—Ad Ciceronem ita ſcripſiſti, ulli ut neque ſeverius, neque temperatius ſcribi potuerit, nec magis quam quemadmodum ego maxime vellem. Ad Att. 13. 1. it. ib. 16. 1, 15. Plutar. in Cic.

that they could not procede from mere compliment, or a desire of flattering Cicero as he often signifies with pleasure to Atticus [*t*]. Thus Trebonius, as he was passing into *Asia*, writes to him from *Athens*; "I came hither on the "twenty first of *May*, where I saw your son; "and saw him, to my great joy, pursuing every "thing that was good, and in the highest cre- "dit for the modesty of his behaviour——do "not imagine, my Cicero, that I say this to "flatter you: for nothing can be more beloved "than your young man is by all who are at "*Athens*; nor more studious of all those arts "which you yourself delight in; that is, the "best. I congratulate with you therefore very "heartily, which I can do with great truth, "and not less also with myself; that he, whom "we were obliged to love, of what temper so- "ever he had happened to be, proves to be "such an one as we should chuse to love [*u*]."

But the Son's own Letters gave the most solid comfort to his Father; as they were written not onely with great duty and affection, but with such elegance also and propriety, *that they were fit*, he says, *to be read to a learned audience*; *and tho' in other points he might possibly be deceived, yet in these he saw a real improvement both of his tast and learning* [*x*]. None of these letters

[*t*] Cæteri præclara scribunt. Leonidas tamen retinet illud suum *adhuc*, summis vero laudibus Herodes—[Ad Att. 15. 16.] Gratissimum, quod polliceris Ciceroni nihil defuturum; de quo mirabilia Messala, ib. 17.

[*u*] Ep. fam. 12. 16. vid. it. 14.

[*x*] A Cicerone mihi Litteræ sane πεπιωμέναι, & bene longæ. Cætera autem vel fingi possunt: πῶς litterarum significat doctiorem. [Ad Att. 14. 7.] Mehercule ipsius litteræ sic & φιλοσοφως, & ἐυπιθῶς scriptæ, ut eas vel in acroasi audeam legere: quo magis ille indulgendum puto, ib. 15. 17. vid. ib. 16.

ters are now extant, nor any other monument of young Cicero's talents, but *two Letters to Tiro*; one of which I have chosen to transcribe, as the surest specimen both of his parts and temper; written, as we may imagine, to one of Tiro's rank, without any particular care, and in the utmost familiarity, from his residence at *Athens*, when he was about *nineteen* years old.

CICERO the Son to TIRO.

" While I was expecting every day with im-
" patience your messengers from *Rome*, they
" came at last on the forty-sixth day after they
" left you. Their arrival was extremely agree-
" able to me: for my Father's most indulgent
" and affectionate letter gave me an exceeding
" joy; which was still highly increased by the
" receipt also of yours: so that instead of be-
" ing sorry for my late omission of writing, I
" was rather pleased that my silence had afford-
" ed me so particular a proof of your humani-
" ty. It is a great pleasure therefore to me,
" that you accepted my excuse so readily. I
" do not doubt, my dearest Tiro, but that the
" reports which are now brought of me give
" you a real satisfaction. It shall be my care
" and endeavour that this growing fame of me
" shall every day come more and more con-
" firmed to you: and since you promise to be
" the Trumpeter of my praises, you may ven-
" ture to do it with assurance: for the past er-
" rors of my youth have mortified me so sen-
" sibly, that my mind does not onely abhor the
" facts themselves, but my ears cannot even
" endure the mention of them. I am perfectly
" assured, that in all this regret and sollicitude
" you have born no small share with me: nor

" is it to be wonder'd at; for tho' you wiſh
" me all ſucceſs for my ſake, you are engaged
" alſo to do it for your own: ſince it was al-
" ways my reſolution to make you the partner
" of every good that may befal me. As I have
" before therefore been the occaſion of ſorrow
" to you, ſo it ſhall now be my buſineſs to
" double your joy on my account. You muſt
" know that I live in the utmoſt intimacy with
" Cratippus; and like a Son, rather than a
" Scholar: for I not onely hear his lectures
" with pleaſure, but am infinitely delighted
" with his converſation. I ſpend whole days
" with him, and frequently alſo a part of the
" night: for I prevail with him, as often as I
" can, to ſup with me; and in our familiar
" chat, as we ſit at table, the night ſteals upon
" us without thinking of it, whilſt he lays
" aſide the ſeverity of his philoſophy, and jokes
" amongſt us with all the good humour imagi-
" nable. Contrive therefore to come to us as
" ſoon as poſſible, and ſee this agreeable and
" excellent man. For what need I tell you of
" Bruttius? whom I never part with out of my
" ſight. His life is regular and exemplary,
" and his company the moſt entertaining: he
" has the art of introducing queſtions of litera-
" ture into converſation, and ſeaſoning philo-
" ſophy with mirth. I have hired a lodging
" for him in the next houſe to me; and ſup-
" port his poverty, as well as I am able, out
" of my narrow income. I have begun alſo to
" declame in Greek under Caſſius; but chuſe
" to exerciſe myſelf in Latin with Bruttius. I
" live likewiſe in great familiarity, and the
" perpetual company of thoſe whom Cratip-
" pus brought with him from *Mitylene*; who

" are

" are men of learning, and highly eſteem'd by " him. Epicrates alſo, the leading man at " *Athens*, and Leonidas, ſpend much of their " time with me; and many others of the ſame " rank. This is the manner of my life at pre- " ſent. As to what you write about Gorgias, " he was uſeful to me indeed in my daily ex- " erciſe of declaiming; but I gave up all con- " ſiderations for the ſake of obeying my father; " who wrote peremptorily that I ſhould diſmiſs " him inſtantly. I complied therefore without " heſitation; leſt by ſhewing any reluctance, I " might raiſe in him ſome ſuſpicion of me. Be- " ſides, I reflected, that it would ſeem indecent " in me to deliberate upon the judgement of a " father. Your zeal however and advice upon " it are very agreeable to me. I admit your ex- " cuſe of want of leiſure, for I know how much " your time is commonly taken up. I am " mightily pleaſed with your purchaſe of a " farm, and heartily wiſh you joy of it. Do " not wonder at my congratulating you in this " part of my letter, for it was the ſame part of " yours, in which you informed me of the pur- " chaſe. You have now a place, where you " may drop all the forms of the City, and are " become a *Roman* of the old ruſtic ſtamp. I " pleaſe myſelf with placing your figure be- " fore my eyes, and imagining that I ſee you " bartering for your country wares, or conſult- " ing with your bailiff, or carrying off from " your table, in a corner of your veſt, the ſeeds " of your fruits and melons for your garden. " But to be ſerious; I am as much concerned " as you are, that I happened to be out of the " way, and could not aſſiſt you on that occa- " ſion: but depend upon it, my Tiro, I will

" make you eaſy one time or other, if fortune " does not diſappoint me: eſpecially ſince I " know that you have bought this farm for the " common uſe of us both. I am obliged to you " for your care in executing my orders; but " beg of you, that *a Librarian* may be ſent to " me in all haſte, and eſpecially a *Greek* one: " for I waſte much of my time in tranſcribing " the lectures and books that are of uſe to me. " Above all things, take care of your health, " that we may live to hold many learned con- " ferences together. I recommend Antherus to " you. Adieu [*y*].

THIS was the ſituation of young Cicero when Brutus arrived at *Athens:* who, as it has been already ſaid, was exceedingly taken with his virtue and good principles; of which he ſent a high encomium to his Father; and entruſted him, tho' but *twenty years* old, with a principal command in his army: in which he acquitted himſelf with a ſingular reputation both of courage and conduct; and in ſeveral expeditions and encounters with the enemy, where he commanded in chief, always come off victorious. After the battel of Philippi, and the death of Brutus, he eſcaped to Pompey; who had taken poſſeſſion of *Sicily* with a great army, and fleet ſuperior to any in the Empire. This was the laſt refuge of the poor Republicans: where young Cicero was received again with particular honors; and continued fighting ſtill in the defence of his country's liberty; till Pompey, by a treaty of peace with the Triumvirate, obtained, as one of the conditions of it, *the pardon and reſtoration of all the proſcribed and exiled* Romans, who were then in arms with him [*z*].

CICERO

[*y*] E. fam. 16 21. [*z*] Appian. p. 619. 713.

CICERO therefore took his leave of Pompey, and returned to *Rome* with the reſt of his party: where he lived for ſome time in the condition of a private Nobleman; remote from affairs and the Court of the Emperor; partly thro' the envy of the times, averſe to his name and principles; partly thro' choice, and his old zeal for the Republican cauſe, which he retained ſtill to the laſt. In this uneaſy ſtate, where he had nothing to rouze his virtue, or excite his ambition, it is not ſtrange that he ſunk into a life of indolence and pleaſure, and *the intemperate love of wine*; which began to be the faſhionable vice of this age, from the example of Antony, who had lately publiſhed *a volume of the triumphs of his drinking*. Young Cicero is ſaid to have practiſed it likewiſe to great exceſs; and to have been famous for the quantity that he uſed to ſwallow at a draught: *as if he had reſolved*, ſays Pliny, *to deprive Antony, the murtherer of his Father, of the glory of being the firſt drunkard of the Empire* [a].

AUGUSTUS however paid him the compliment in the mean while, to make him a *Prieſt or Augur* [b], as well as one of thoſe Magiſtrates who preſided over *the coinage of the public money*: in regard to which there is a medal ſtill extant, with the name of Cicero on the one ſide, and Appius Claudius on the other; who was one of *his Collegues* in this office [c]. But upon the

[a] Nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris ſui, Antonio. Is enim ante eum avidiſſime apprehenderat hanc palmam; edito etiam volumine de ſua ebrietate. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. 14. 22.

[b] Appian. p. 619.—

[c] Vid. And. Morell. Theſaur. Numiſm. inter Numm. Conſul. Goltzii. Tab. 33. 4.

Theſe ſuperintendents of the public coinage were called *Treviri, or Triumviri Monetales*;

laſt breach with Antony, Auguſtus no ſooner became the ſole Maſter of Rome than he took him for his partner in the Conſulſhip: ſo that his letters which brought the news of the victory at *Actium*, and conqueſt of *Egypt*, were addreſſed *to Cicero the Conſul*; who had the pleaſure of publiſhing them to the Senate and people; as well as of making and executing that decree, which ordered *all the ſtatues and monuments of Antony to be demoliſhed, and that no perſon of his Family ſhould ever after bear the name of Marcus.* By paying this honor to the Son, Auguſtus made ſome attonement for his treachery to the Father: and by giving the Family this opportunity of revenging his death upon Antony, fixed the blame of it alſo there; while the people looked upon it *as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of Antony's name and fortunes* ſhould, by a ſtrange revolution of affairs, be reſerved for *the triumph of young Cicero* [*d*]. Some honors are mentioned likewiſe to have been

Monetales; and in Medals and old Inſcriptions are deſcribed thus; III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. that is, *Auro, Argento, Ære Flando, Feriundo.* Their number had always been *three*, till J. Cæſar, as it appears from ſeveral medals, enlarged it to *four:* whence in the coin of Cicero, juſt mentioned, we find him called, IIII. VIR. There was another Magiſtrate alſo of lower rank at *Rome*, called *Treviri Capitales*, who tried and judged all *capital* crimes among foreigners and ſlaves, or even Citizens of inferior condition: in alluſion to which, Cicero has a pleaſant joke, in one of his Letters to Trebatius, when he was attending Cæſar in his wars againſt the *Treviri*, one of the moſt fierce and warlike nations of *Gaul*; *I admoniſh you*, ſays he, *to keep out of the way of theſe Treviri: they are of the Capital kind, I hear: I wiſh rather, that they were the coiners of gold and ſilver.*— Ep. fam. 7. 13.

[*d*] Plutar. in Cic. Dio. p. 456. Appian. p. 619. 672.

been decreed by Cicero, in *this Conſulſhip*, to his partner Auguſtus; particularly an *Obſidional Crown*; which tho' made onely of *the common graſs, that happened to be found upon the ſcene of action*, yet in the times of ancient diſcipline, was eſteemed the *nobleſt reward of military glory*; and never beſtowed but for *the deliverance of an army*, when reduced to the laſt diſtreſs [*e*]. *This Crown* therefore had not been given above *eight times* from the foundation of *Rome:* but with the oppreſſion of its liberty, all its honors were ſervilely proſtituted to the will of the reigning Monarch.

Soon after Cicero's Conſulſhip, he was made *Proconſul of Aſia*; or, as Appian ſays, of *Syria*; one of the moſt conſiderable Provinces of the Empire: from which time we find no farther mention of him in hiſtory. He died probably ſoon after, before a maturity of age and experience had given him the opportunity of retrieving the approach of his intemperance, and diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the counſils of the ſtate: but from the honors already mentioned, it is evident that his life, though blemiſh'd by ſome ſcandal, yet was not void of dignity: and amidſt all the vices with which he is charged, he is allowed to have retained *his Father's wit and politeneſs* [*f*].

THERE

[*e*] Corona quidem nulla fuit graminea nobilior—nunquam niſi in deſperatione ſuprema contigit ulli; niſi ab univerſo exercitu ſervato decerta—eadem vocatur Obſidionalis—dabatur hæc viridi e gramine, decerpto inde ubi obſeſſos ſervaſſet aliquis—Ipſum Auguſtum cum M. Cicerone Conſulem, idibus Septembribus Senatus Obſidionali donavit, &c. vid. Plin. Hiſt. N. 22. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

[*f*] Qui nihil ex paterno ingenio habuit, præter urbanitatem. M. Senec. Suaſor. 6.

THERE are two ſtories related of him, which ſhew, that his natural courage and high ſpirit were far from being ſubdued by the ruin of his party and fortunes: for being in company with ſome friends, where he had drunk very hard; in the heat of wine and paſſion, *he threw a cup at the head of Agrippa*; who, next to Auguſtus, bore the chief ſway in *Rome* [*g*]. He was provoked to it probably by ſome diſpute in politics, or inſult on the late champions, and vanquiſh'd cauſe of the Republic. At another time, during his government of *Aſia*, one Ceſtius, who was afterwards Prætor, a flatterer of the times, and a reviler of his Father, having the aſſurance to come one day to his table, Cicero, after he had inquired his name, and underſtood that *it was the man who uſed to inſult the memory of his Father, and declare that he knew nothing of polite letters*, ordered him to be taken away and publicly whipt [*h*].

HIS nature ſeems to have been gay, frank, and generous; peculiarly turned to arms and martial glory: to which, by the unhappy fate of his country, he had been trained very young; and at an age, that is commonly dedicated to the arts of peace and ſtudies of learning, had ſerved with much honor to himſelf, in three ſucceſſive wars, the moſt conſiderable in all hiſtory; *of Pharſalia, Philippi, and Sicily*. If his life therefore did not correſpond with the ſplendor of his Father's, it ſeems chargeable to his misfortune, rather than his fault; and to the miſerable ſtate of the times, which allowed no room for the attainment of his Father's honors, or

[*g*] Marcoque Agrippæ a temulento ſcyphum impactum. Plin. Hiſt. N. 14. 22.

[*h*] M. Senec. Suaſor. 6.

or the imitation of his virtues: but if he had liv'd in better times, and a free Republic, tho' he would not have been so eminent a Scholar, or Orator, or Statesman as his Father, yet he would have excell'd him probably in that character, which conferr'd a more substantial power and dazzling glory, the fame of a brave and accomplish'd General.

THE Characters of Q. Cicero the brother, of his Son Quintus, and of Atticus, have been so frequently touched in the course of this History, that there is but little occasion to add any thing more about them. The two first, as we have already said, upon the news of their being proscribed, took their leave of Cicero in his flight towards the sea, and returned to *Rome*; in order to furnish themselves with money and other necessaries for a voyage to *Macedonia*. They hoped to have executed this, before the proscription could take effect, or to lie concealed at least for a short time in the City, without the danger of a discovery: but the diligence of Antony's emissaries, and the particular instructions, that they had received to make sure of the Cicero's, eluded all their caution and hopes of concealment. The son was found out the first; who is said to have been more sollicitous for the preservation of his father, than to provide for his own safety: upon his refusal to discover, where his Father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the soldiers; till the Father, to rescue his son from torture, came out from his hiding place, and voluntarily surrendered himself; making no other request to his executioners, than *that they would dispatch him the first of the two.* The son urged the same petition, *to spare him the misery of being the*

the ſpectator of his Father's murther; ſo that the aſſaſſins, to ſatisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the ſame time [*i*].

As to Atticus, the difficulty of the times, in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet, that he enjoyed in them, confirm what has already been obſerved of him, that he was a perfect Maſter of the principles of his ſect, and knew how to ſecure *that chief good of an Epicurean life*, his private eaſe and ſafety. One would naturally imagine, that his union with Cicero and Brutus, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of courſe in the ruin of the proſcription: he himſelf was afraid of it, and kept himſelf concealed for ſome time: but without any great reaſon; for, as if he had foreſeen ſuch an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to Antony; and, in the time even of his diſgrace, when he was driven out of *Italy*, and his affairs thought deſperate, did many evident ſervices *to his friends at* Rome: and above all, *to his wife and children*; whom he aſſiſted, not onely with his advice, but *with his money alſo*, on all occaſions of their diſtreſs: ſo that when Antony came to *Rome*, in the midſt of the maſſacre, he made it his firſt care to find out Atticus, and no ſooner learnt where he was, *than he wrote him word with his own hand, to lay aſide all fears, and come to him immediately*; *and aſſigned him a guard, to protect him from any inſult or violence of the ſoldiers* [*k*].

IT

[*i*] Dio, p. 333. Appian, 601. Pluter. in Cic.

[*k*] Atticus, cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate uteretur, amiciſſimus eſſe Bruto; non modo nihil iis indulſit ad Antonium violandum, ſed e contrario familiares

IT muſt be imputed likewiſe to the ſame principle of Atticus's caution, and a regard to his ſafety, that after ſo long and intimate a correſpondence of letters with Cicero, on the moſt important tranſactions of that age, of which there are *ſixteen books of* Cicero's ſtill remaining, yet not *a ſingle Letter of* Atticus's was ever publiſhed: which can hardly be charged to any other cauſe, but his having withdrawn them from Tiro, after Cicero's death, and ſuppreſſed them with a ſingular care; leſt in that revolution of affairs, and extinction of the public liberty, they ſhould ever be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new Maſters.

BUT his intereſt with the reigning powers was ſoon eſtabliſhed on a more ſolid foundation, than that of his perſonal merit, by the marriage of his onely daughter with M. Agrippa; which was firſt propoſed and brought about by Antony. This introduced him into the friendſhip and familiarity of Auguſtus, whoſe Miniſter and Favorite Agrippa was; and to whom he himſelf became afterwards nearly allied, by the marriage of his *Grandaughter with his ſucceſſor* Tiberius [*l*]. Thus he added dignity to his quiet;

ares ejus ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit—ipſi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus diſtineretur —— ſponſor omnium rerum fuerit —itaque ad adventum Imperatorum de foro deceſſerat, timens proſcriptionem — Antonius autem—ei, cum requiſiſſet, ubinam eſſet, ſua manu ſcripſit, ne timeret, ſtatimque ad ſe veniret—ac ne quid periculum incideret —præſidium ei miſit. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici x.

[*l*] Atque harum nuptiarum, non enim eſt celandum, conciliatur fuit Antonius. [ibid. 12.] Nata eſt autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa. Hanc Cæſar vix anniculum, Tiberio Claudio Neroni Druſilla nato, privigno ſuo deſpondit. Quæ conjunctio neceſſitudinem eorum ſanxit. Ib. 19.

quiet; and lived to a good old age, in the very manner in which he wiſhed; happy and honorable; and remote from all trouble, or the apprehenſion of danger. But that he ſtill lives, in the fame and memory of ages, is intirely owing to the circumſtance, of his having been Cicero's *friend:* for this after all, was the chief honor of his life: and, as Seneca truly obſerved, *it was the Epiſtles of Cicero, which preſerved him from oblivion; and neither his ſon Agrippa, nor Grandſon Tiberius, nor great Grandſon Druſus, would have been of any ſervice to him, if Cicero's name, by drawing Atticus's along with it, had not given him an immortality* [*m*].

[*m*] Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis Epiſtolæ non ſinunt. Nihil illi profuiſſet gener Agrippa, & Tiberius progener, & Druſus pronepos: inter tam magna nomina taceretur, niſi Cicero illum applicuiſſet. Senec. Ep. 21.

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